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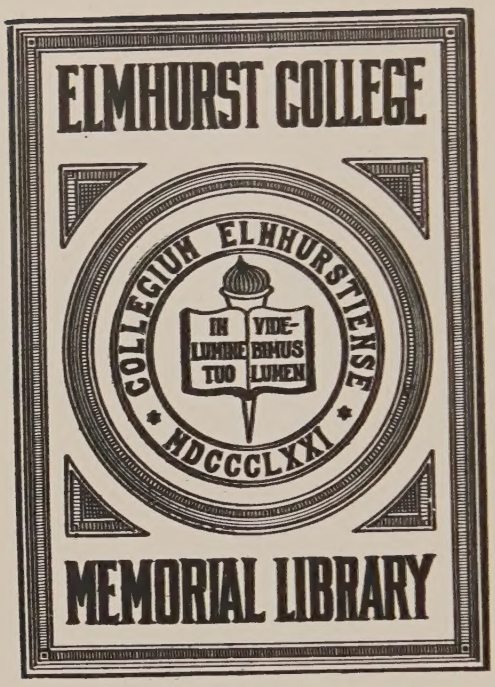
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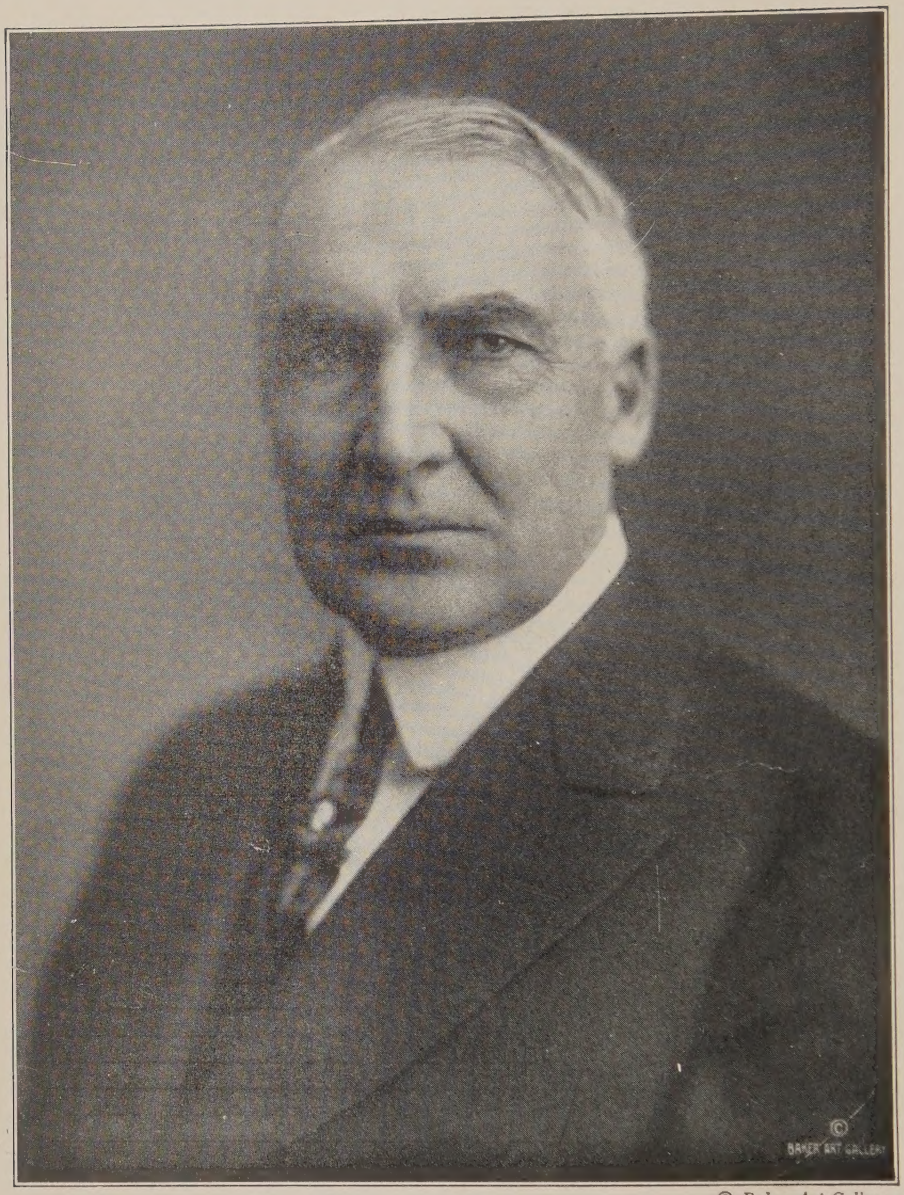

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Warren G. Harding

THE LIFE OF
WARREN G. HARDING

From the Simple Life of the Farm
To the Glamor and Power of the White House

BY
WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON, A.M., L.H.D.
Professor of History of American Foreign Relations, New York University
Contributing Editor North American Review. Author of The Life of Sherman,
America and the Great War for Humanity and Freedom, etc., etc.

Illustrated

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Chapter I

THE NATION SHOCKED

SAN FRANCISCO A PLACE OF REJOICING TURNED INTO A CITY OF MOURNING—NEWS OF THE DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT COMES WITH ALMOST ELECTRIC SUDDENNESS—A NATION IN SORROW

"NEIGHBOR, I want to be helpful." This was the keynote of President Harding's life, and when the news of his sudden death in San Francisco was flashed across the country on the night of August 2, 1923, the people felt that they had not only lost a President but a great-hearted neighbor. In his two years and five months in office he had endeared himself to every class. Men differed with him politically, but all paid him tribute as one of the most lovable figures in American history.

No words can convey the profound shock that came with almost electric suddenness and stunned the American people when the dread tidings of his death were received, for although it was known that he had been stricken with illness some days before, his condition had seemed to be improving, and his physicians had pronounced the crisis past and his recovery assured unless some new and unforeseen complications should occur.

During the morning and afternoon of the second of August he had been reported free from discomfort, and there was every anticipation of prompt recovery.

Amid the general rejoicing came the almost unbelievable news that while his devoted wife was reading to

him he made a feeble gesture and closed his eyes forever on the world.

"THE PRESIDENT IS DEAD!"

"The President is dead!" For the sixth time in American history the dread news was told. Dead, without an instant's warning. Dead, without a word or a struggle. Dead, in the very hour of confident hope, when the great city where he lay was preparing to welcome him back to health and activity with civic rejoicing and universal acclamation. And all the land was plunged into mourning.

It was at San Francisco, the City of the Golden Gate. A majority of our Presidents had never visited that place; none before had died there. Three had died at the Nation's capital, one on the New Jersey coast, and one on the shore of Lake Erie. It was reserved for Warren Gamaliel Harding to meet his fate at the extreme western rim of the continent. The city had greatly appreciated his coming, and had made opulent preparations for receiving him, entertaining him, honoring him as one whom it loved to honor.

When he reached the city on his return from far Alaskan journeyings, he was already prostrated with illness, supposedly not of a serious nature. Receptions and public celebrations of all kinds had, therefore, to be postponed; to be all the more joyous when finally made, for rejoicings over his recovery.

Thus they were still held in abeyance on the afternoon and evening of Thursday, August 2, 1923; with increasing hope and anticipation of his speedy restoration to health. It had been the best day since he had first been stricken, six days before. His physicians were

seeking an hour's rest from their unremitting exertions in his behalf; only one of them being at hand, with one faithful nurse.

THE LAST WORDS OF THE PRESIDENT

His wife, devoted and efficient in her attendance upon him beyond all expression, was reading to him an article which some one had written about him in a weekly paper, and he was listening with interest and amusement. "That's good!" he said, at one pleasant passage. "Go on and read some more!" And that was the end. There was a gasping for breath, a quick shuddering, and the President was dead.

It was at half-past seven o'clock in the evening. San Francisco and the other communities in the Far Western States were finishing dinner, and preparing for the social diversions of a summer evening. In the mid-continent it was mid-evening, and some were already thinking of sleep, while others were immersed in entertainment. In the Atlantic Coast States the hour was waning toward midnight. The majority were sleeping, while many were just concluding the evening's pleasures and were returning homeward for repose; many expecting that the morning papers, a few hours later, would tell of the President's rapid recovery and his approaching resumption of his tour and its manifold activities.

THE CITY OF REJOICING TURNED INTO A CITY OF MOURNING

Upon these varied conditions the news came with the suddenness of a lightning flash. In a twinkling a city of festivities and rejoicings was turned into a city of woe. But it was not alone. Like a wave of darker darkness than the physical night the news swept over

the land; and when morning dawned those who had not heard the tidings in the night awoke to a day of grief, to be followed by other days of mourning.

Nor was the Nation alone in its bereavement. "The President is dead!" was flashed around the world, carrying its shock of pain to every land, and evoking such a response of sympathy and such tributes of respect and honor as had not been known before. Kings and queens, princes and presidents, men of light and leading everywhere, thronged the cables beneath the ocean, and the etheric currents of the atmosphere, with prompt messages of sympathy and regret. The City of the Golden Gate became the center of a world of solicitude and grief.

WIDESPREAD EXPRESSIONS OF SORROW

Never before had expressions of mourning been so widespread at the death of any man. That was not because comparable sentiments had not been cherished. But the world had vastly grown since last an American President or other comparable figure had passed away. The United States had grown from the seventy-five millions when McKinley died to a hundred and ten millions. Also it had grown into almost immeasurably closer contact with all the rest of the world. Nations which were indifferent in 1901 were intensely interested in America in 1923. There were also new nations, formed from dismembered empires in the World War, whose new governments sent messages of sympathy.

THE MAN OF DESTINY

Moreover, there were the unprecedented circumstances of a world which had but recently emerged from

a war which had shocked, prostrated and all but wrecked it, and which was still half staggering, half stunned beneath the blow. That world had as never before been looking to America for aid in its rehabilitation, and had been looking to the American President as the chief figure in the great work of world restoration.

For him thus tragically, in the twinkling of an eye, to be snatched away, his tasks apparently undone, leaving the world without his stabilizing leadership, seemed a direct loss amounting to disaster to a score or more of nations. Their feeling was not merely one of condolence with America in her loss, but of anguish in their own bereavement, and of uncertainty for their own future in the absence of the man to whom they had so greatly looked for a solution of the crucial problems of the world.

For the United States itself, its mourning was universal and profound. Partisanship was forgotten, faction was banished, resentments and ambitions were laid aside. There was realized the condition portrayed by the Greek tragedian of twenty-four centuries before:

> "On all this folk, both low and high,
> A grief has fallen beyond men's fears.
> There comes a throbbing of many tears,
> A sound as of waters falling.
> For when great men die,
> A mighty name and a bitter cry
> Rise up from a nation calling."

It might have been asked—it may still be asked—why there was so universal an outpouring of grief and sympathy; and the answer to the question will be profitable to seek and to ponder. National pride would doubtless be flattered by the conception that it was

because of world-wide regard, respect and honor for the United States; but bitter truth forbids the fond illusion. Greatly, indeed, as has been said, the nations looked to America for possible aid. But they did so in a cold business sense, and not with any flattering warmth of affection or even with cordiality or confidence.

THE WORLD'S TRIBUTE TO WARREN G. HARDING

It was not for love of the United States as a political sovereignty that they sent their messages of sympathy. Rather was it for love and admiration for the man himself. It was not because of his office so much as because of the manner in which he had filled it, and because of the personal qualities of mind and heart and soul that he had displayed in filling it. The world's tribute was not so much national, to America, as personal, to Warren Gamaliel Harding.

This was the more noteworthy because the world's view of him had not been dazzling or spectacular. He had led no armies, won no campaigns, conquered no empire, dominated no Congress of the Powers, dictated no treaties. He had personally not come into contact with foreign nations nor loomed upon their vision. It was therefore all the more impressive a fact that his intimate, unobtrusive qualities had so captivated the imagination and won the affections of the peoples of other continents.

HIS MODEST VIEW OF HIMSELF

Shortly before setting out on the journey which led him into the "long, long trail," he said to a friend of himself: "I know my limitations. I know how far removed from greatness I am. Be that as it may, I in-

tend to approach every problem with good will in my heart instead of hatred. Most questions which are settled by armed force are never permanently settled. Problems can be solved fundamentally only as they are worked out in a spirit of neighborly good will. . . . People may think of me as they please, but I shall continue to be just what I am, Warren G. Harding as he is and as God fashioned him—a man who is trying the best he knows how to throw into the discard age-old, discordant ways of doing things, ways which never have succeeded in bringing happiness into the world."

It was not to be wondered at that the world honored and loved a man of that spirit. It was not to be wondered at that the American people with unexampled unanimity loved him. They felt that he was one of them, a "man of like passions," kindly and neighborly, and, in the last analysis, just such a man as any of them might reasonably aspire to be.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE

If he was not a unique genius, he was for that very reason not inaccessible, inimitable and aloof. Men felt that they could not, like Washington, be the Father of their Country. They could not, like Hamilton, breathe the breath of life into otherwise inanimate clay and make it a vital and puissant organism. They could not, like the younger Adams, give America the place of a peer among the powers of earth, nor, like Webster, thrill the heart of the nation with the thunder roll of "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." They could not, like Lincoln, free a race of slaves and restore the integrity of a divided nation, nor, like Grant, lead the armies of the nation to nation-saving victory.

They could not, like Roosevelt, make of themselves dynamic forces that would rouse the nation from sordid muckraking to the high quest for righteousness.

No; but what they could do, if they would, was to approach every problem of life with good will instead of hatred in their hearts, and to try as best they could to bring happiness into the world. There was a bond of fellowship, of neighborliness, of common humanity, between them and Warren G. Harding such as perhaps no other President had ever so completely established. That was the prime cause of the universal grief which met his death, and the universal love which instantly enshrined his memory.

HIS LIFE STORY A TRUE ROMANCE

It will be a work of surpassing interest and of inestimable profit to trace the story of such a life as his. History teems with the records of kings and captains, of those who have waded through slaughter to thrones, or who have shone brilliantly in camps or courts or councils. But here are the annals of one of the common people, born in obscurity and early inured to hardship. The farm was his nursery, the printing shop his school, the everyday interests of the people his studies, the neighborly service of his fellow men his best ambition. Step by step we shall trace his progress, from small duties to greater, from the greater to the greatest of all.

We shall study what manner of man this was who so won to himself the confidence and love of his fellow men, even of uncounted millions who never saw his face nor heard his voice, that his illness became a matter of world solicitude and his death a world tragedy.

Chapter II

A SON OF PIONEERS

DEEP ROOTED IN AMERICAN SOIL—THE MIGRATION FROM CONNECTICUT TO OHIO—THE CABIN IN THE CLEARING—GRANDFATHER'S FARM—THE COUNTRY DOCTOR—MOTHER OF THE PRESIDENT

BORN on November 2, 1865, at the end of the Civil War, Warren Gamaliel Harding came of rugged pioneer stock. The name Harding is as old as the Domesday Book of 1086. Before the Revolutionary days, a number of Hardings came to America, some to Massachusetts and some to Connecticut. They figured in the early annals of the country, in the pioneer days, when hardy men tamed the wilderness and began to build roads where there had been but trails beaten by the feet of the red men; and suffered hardship and even death itself that their children and their children's children might come into the splendid heritage of a great republic.

Deep rooted in American soil and fast fixed in the pioneer traditions of the new world was the family whose name Warren G. Harding brought to its highest eminence when it came to adorn the door-plate of the White House, speaking, if not literally, at least appropriately in the manner of the home folks.

Of the events of American history from its beginnings, of the building of a new nation, they could say like Æneas, "all of which I saw and a great part of which I was."

More than a century before the Declaration of Inde-

pendence there were Hardings in New England. The family was originally of Scottish descent. The great-great-grandfather of George Tryon Harding, the President's father, is reputed to have sailed from England for Connecticut in 1623. His daughter married a descendant of Francis Cook, who came over on the *Mayflower*.

Translating quaintly into New England the flavor of Old England, there is a section of the Nutmeg State known as North, East, South, West, Middle and other Haddams, and here in Middle Haddam in 1746 was born Nathan Harding, direct ancestor in the line which produced the President.

THE MIGRATION FROM THE COLONIES

It was not so many years later that we find Hardings taking part in the historic westward migration of pioneer stock from the colonies centering about the Delaware region and extending north and south along the Atlantic seaboard. It was the beginning of the movement to cross the Alleghanies, which France hoped to establish as the western boundary of the colonies, and start the winning of the west.

Like other trail-blazers, soon to overflow into the fertile valleys of Ohio and pierce farther into the prairies watered by the Mississippi and the Missouri, these Hardings cleared forests and cultivated them with the every-ready musket as important a farm implement as the ploughshare.

Near where the city of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., now stands there occurred the massacre of Wyoming on July 3, 1778. Three days before, Benjamin Harding, Stukley Harding, Stephen Harding and nine others were returning to their homes after working in the cornfields

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THE PHOTOGRAPH BEST LIKED BY MR. AND MRS. HARDING

A pretty scene in their garden

FATHER AND SON

Dr. George T. Harding, father of the President, in G. A. R. uniform, with Mr. and Mrs. Harding

They were set upon by a party of Indians and Tories, the Revolutionary War being then in progress. A fierce fight followed and the Hardings and their friends were cut to pieces with tomahawks, only Stephen Harding, Junior, escaping.

Later the Hardings migrated into Ohio, thus following the pioneer trail of their day. They had in successive generations left New England, crossed the Alleghanies, and were now at the edge of the new West. Here they stopped.

THE CABIN IN THE CLEARING

It is with Warren Gamaliel Harding's grandfather that the family history began in the state of presidents. Early in the nineteenth century he arrived in Morrow County, Ohio, set up his homestead cabin near the village of Blooming Grove in a clearing hewn from the woods and took up the life of a frontier farmer.

With him he brought his bride, whose maiden name had been Warren. Together they shared the hardships of frontier life, the tilling of the soil, the care of the household and the rearing of their children.

Here their son was born and here also the latter's son, destined to be President of the United States, though nothing could have been more remote from the imaginations of the family group that gathered about the hearth of the little backwoods cabin.

A typical farm homestead was the birthplace of Warren G. Harding. Doctor George Tryon Harding, the father of Warren, had been born in the same homestead on June 12, 1843, a coincidence of dates bringing it about that it was on his seventy-seventh birthday his son received the Republican nomination for President.

Doctor Harding's wife, mother of the President, was Phœbe Elizabeth Dickerson Harding. She came of Holland-Dutch ancestry, the blood of the Van Kirk family, pioneers of Pennsylvania, being in her veins. She was a home-loving, industrious woman who had been inured to the privations of frontier life through precedent and practice, well-equipped to be wife and mother to a family such as hers.

She was a woman of deep religious conviction and professed the Adventist creed. There is no doubt that it was from his mother Warren G. Harding inherited many of the traits that were to be marked in him later in life.

THE COUNTRY DOCTOR

The elder Harding was a farmer as well as a doctor. Born to the backwoods soil, it is apparent that he had in him the same germ of application which later worked in his son to raise him from a humble beginning to the leadership of a nation. President Harding was once asked how he had come to be called the son of a doctor as well as the son of a farmer, and in answering he explained how his father had made himself a skilled professional man under great difficulties. He said:

"While my father was engaged in farming he was also 'reading' medicine in a doctor's office in Caledonia—a small town about ten miles to the east of Marion—where I had my first experience with printer's ink. Later he attended some lectures, and I was a fair-sized boy before he was authorized to practice medicine and began to do so. Then the 'boy who had been the son of a farmer' became 'the son of a physician.'"

With the coming of additional settlers to the dis-

trict, Doctor Harding built up a fair practice. He continued to till the land, and by judicious economy managed to save sufficient money to educate in decent fashion his children, among whom were Abigail, who became a teacher in the Marion High School; Carolyn, who became the wife of Dr. Herbert Votaw, of Washington, D. C.; Charity, who married a Mr. Remsberg and went to live in California; George Tryon Harding, Junior, who became an eminent physician of Columbus, Ohio; and Warren Gamaliel, the twenty-ninth President of the United States.

The rural doctor devoted less and less time to agriculture, and in later years removed to Marion, and was still practicing medicine in that city—with offices in the two-story brick newspaper building of the Marion *Star*—when his son Warren was called to the White House.

He married again during the President's term of office, and was alive to comfort the widow of the President when Warren G. Harding was laid to rest in the Marion cemetery in 1923.

It was to Doctor Harding's modest home that the body of the President was taken after the nation had paid its tribute at Washington, for the President's home in Marion had been leased. An inconspicuous frame house, square and severe in outline, with bay windows reaching from the ground to the eaves. Homes such as Dr. Harding's and his illustrious son's are to be found without number in small communities in every North Atlantic and Middle Western town. Homes like these sprang up as the Yankees moved westward to and south of the Great Lakes, and farther onward across Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, and up into Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota.

The house which had been Warren Harding's home before he became President hardly differed in architectural design from his father's except for the massive stone porch which he had added in later years and which became famous during the pre-election campaign in 1920.

MOTHER OF THE PRESIDENT

From the time he was five years old, President Harding's mother entertained the firm faith that her son would one day be President of the United States. She lived to see him in the State Senate, as United States Senator, Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio, and it was one of the tragedies of life that she did not live to see the culmination of her hopes and beliefs.

Phœbe Elizabeth (Dickerson) Harding was tall and strongly built and fine looking. Between Warren and his mother there was the deepest affection. Incidents of President Harding's boyhood and his affection for his mother have been told by David R. Crissinger, of Ohio, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and close personal friend of Warren G. Harding. "No public man ever had greater inspiration than that which was furnished Warren Harding by his mother," said Mr. Crissinger. "The affection between them was one of the most beautiful things in Mr. Harding's career. She was an extremely religious soul, and the strong religious and ethical feeling which is so evident in all that President Harding wrote was inherited from her."

Knowing her fondness for flowers, young Warren early formed the habit of bringing her a bouquet, and even when he removed to Marion while his parents remained in Caledonia, he visited his mother every Sunday, and always carried his tribute of flowers.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF WARREN G. HARDING
In this farmhouse the future President first saw the light of day

THE BOYHOOD HOME OF THE FUTURE PRESIDENT
While living here the boy who was to rise to great heights spent his time in learning to be a printer

PHŒBE DICKERSON HARDING
Mother of Warren G. Harding. Her death in 1910 was her son's first great sorrow

Photo by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
HARDING AS A YOUNG MAN
A photograph of the late President at the age of twenty-one, when he cast his first vote

Such were the parents of the future President of the United States, such the environment, and such the family tradition under which he was reared. It will be seen that all the circumstances of his birth were such as to encourage the stern and simple virtues. It was the school in which the weakling perished and the strong character became stronger.

No origin could be more typical of an American who was one of the plain people of the old stock. For generations his family had contributed to the building of the nation. They had not been distinguished nor brilliant but they had been strong, sensible, and solid. Finally, in the appointed time, their stock flowered to produce a descendant who was worthy to walk with kings.

That was Warren Gamaliel Harding, twenty-ninth President of the United States. And when he ascended to the seats of the mighty it was found that his head could not be turned, that his viewpoints remained unaltered, that he remained a simple and honest American gentleman. He was the true son of pioneers.

Chapter III

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE YEARS

THE FARM BOY—THE OLD SWIMMING HOLE—THE FRIENDS OF YOUTH—WORKING HIS WAY THROUGH SCHOOL—MUSICIAN IN THE VILLAGE BAND—FROM TENOR HORN TO BASS—BARN-PAINTER TO HIS NEIGHBORS—BEGINNING THE BATTLE OF MANHOOD

THE President was the oldest of eight children. As has already been indicated, the family exchequer was not exactly full and running over. The elder Harding farmed his land and in the intervals was fitting himself to become a physician in the way that was most practical in those days, situated as he was, namely, by working in the office of a doctor in near-by Caledonia and slowly acquiring the knowledge that was necessary in order that he might become a licensed physician.

Upon his son, Warren, as the eldest of the family, fell a large share of what responsibility could be transferred to shoulders as yet so weak. He was raised in his early years exactly as were all the farmers' sons in the region roundabout.

THE FARM BOY

He helped in the clearing and the cultivation of the land. He learned to fell trees and to split rails, even as Abraham Lincoln had learned before him and thousands of other American lads. He knew the blistering heat that lies between rows of corn on a hot midsummer day.

He knew the cold that strikes to the marrow as you step out of the stove-warmed house in midwinter to do the chores.

These were the facts of his daily life and among them he grew up strong of body and serene of disposition.

At four years of age, under the tuition of his parents, he had learned to read. His first use of his mastery of the printed page seems to have been to learn long poems which he memorized. But it was the practical rather than the poetical side of life that appealed to him, and he forgot poetry in the stern days that lay before him.

As his old friends recall him, he was not at all the precocious type of youngster. They say he could swim farther and dive deeper than any of his chums at the old swimming hole in Whetstone Creek. He played baseball too, but with only average success.

When their oldest son was five, the Hardings moved to the neighboring village of Caledonia. By this time or shortly afterward the future President's father was practicing medicine. The more settled conditions that followed the ending of the Civil War brought an influx of newcomers to that part of the country, and Dr. Harding was acquiring a practice that took more and more of his attention from farming and was leading him to the status of an established medical practitioner.

WORKING HIS WAY THROUGH SCHOOL

Through all of his school and college years, however, it was necessary for Warren Harding to find most of the money he needed for his education himself. With other farmer lads he attended the common schools of Corsica and Caledonia. This period of his schooling was interspersed with regular farm work in the spring and summer

and the performance of the chores before and after school hours in the winter.

When he was fourteen years old, a raw-boned and gawky lad more than six feet tall, he entered Ohio Central College at Iberia, matriculating for an academic course. The institution has long since closed its doors and it has been intimated that it was called a "college" by courtesy and was more like what was called an academy in those days and would be called a high school in these.

At any rate it supplied advantages not to be found in the public schools, and young Harding made the most of his opportunities there, graduating in 1882 at the age of seventeen with a B.S. degree.

Besides the educational opportunities the Iberia institution gave him, his stay there is notable for at least two things which he was later known for. In the first place, he became editor of the college paper and, though he had known the inside of a printing shop since his early days in Caledonia, he here acquired the experience which gave him confidence enough to begin his later newspaper work without the feeling that he was a raw amateur.

MUSICIAN IN THE VILLAGE BAND

Then there was a brass band at Iberia. Most people who learned with surprise that their President had played in a band in his youth, think his experience in that direction was confied to Marion. But his apprenticeship to the art of Orpheus began with his début playing an alto horn in the Iberia brass band.

Of his more famous later days as a musician in Marion, he once told the following anecdote:

"I played every instrument but the slide trombone and the E-flat cornet. I once took the Marion band to Findlay. We had no uniforms and we couldn't appear without them."

He continued that he borrowed the money to pay for the uniforms on a note indorsed by a local merchant. He believed his band would win the prize, but not all of his fellow-bandsmen shared his serene optimism. He had to guarantee one man his wages and procure a doctor for another's wife. But he got the band to Findlay, in uniform, and they won the prize.

"If we hadn't won," he concluded, "I couldn't have bought the *Star*."

Former Senator Frelinghuysen enlarged upon the story when it was told him. He recalled that President Harding, speaking of the Findlay band contest, said: "We blew our heads off, but there were so many bands from the big cities that for the first time I felt discouraged and thought we had failed." When the prizes were to be awarded, all of the players had left except the bass drum, the clarinet, and Harding with the alto horn. Suddenly his name was called, and he was presented to the judges and got the third prize, $200, and was told to follow the bands which had won first and second prizes. The three players formed and followed the other two bands playing as best they could. When they got back to Marion they received a great ovation, and it was the proudest moment in Warren Harding's young life.

Another chronicler relates that when Warren G. Harding removed to Marion he joined the huge Huber band as a tenor-horn player, but some time later the strength of the band was reduced to fourteen players, and there was an over-supply of tenors. "W. G." was

asked if he could play a B-flat cornet. "Sure!" said he, with the cocksureness of youth, though he had never played a cornet. As a matter of fact he got the job and continued to play the cornet for three months, when he was drafted for the helicon bass. Warren's sturdy frame was well suited to this huge horn, which, somewhat after the fashion of a life-preserver, encircled his head and one shoulder.

During his course at Iberia he had to quit at intervals to earn enough money to go on. All his vacations were devoted to earning money. It is related that one summer he raised eighteen bushels of wheat on half an acre of ground his father let him use.

He cut corn, sold brooms, helped to grade the road-bed of the Toledo & Ohio Central Railroad, and did a variety of other things that brought him additional spending money.

It is interesting to note that it was at Martel, a station not far from Marion, Ohio, that Edison started life as a telegraph operator for the Toledo & Ohio Central Railroad, the same road for which Warren G. Harding worked as a young man, driving a scraper and wagon. Edison, another station near Marion, is named for the inventor. He was born at Milan, Ohio.

"PAINTING THE COUNTY RED"

There was one other thing that young Warren did. He painted barns. In fact he painted barns so well that he acquired a reputation that brought more demands for his ability in this branch of industry than he was able to fill. So, being a business man, even in his teens, he viewed the matter from a business angle and went into partnership with a chum. "They literally painted

the county red," says one biographer, and relates the following incident of the barn-painting days:

"Warren and his partner solicited the job of painting the barn of a farmer having a well-deserved reputation for thrift, not to say tightness. They began dickering over the terms of the proposed contract.

"'Do you paint by the day or by the job?' queried the cautious barn-owner.

"'Either way,' replied Harding. 'Two dollars each a day till we finish, or $25 for the whole job, we furnishing the paint.'

"The farmer did a little mental calculating and decided he would save money on the second proposition. The decorators mixed their paints and started. The barn was big and the day was hot, but the boys plied their brushes rapidly. Before noon they were interrupted by the farmer. Having done some further calculating, he had come to the conclusion he had been stung. He said he wanted the work finished on a *per-diem* basis.

"'That's all right,' agreed the senior partner, 'we always aim to please our patrons.'

"The day got hotter and the painters took their time. They picked out the shady side and accommodated their pace to the shade-line as it moved slowly across the boards. The farmer got angry. At this leisurely speed, he figured, it would take more than a week to finish the job. He fumed and fussed, while the painters daubed calmly on, not caring, apparently, whether it took a week or a month. They rested a good long hour to eat their lunches, and then followed the shade-line to the north side.

"'Darn you fellers,' the farmer finally exploded, 'I'll give you the $25—go ahead and get through.'

"'Sure,' said Harding, with a grin. 'It's pretty hot, but we'll get through all right.'

"The shade was abandoned, and the boys slapped on the red paint with a recklessness that broke speed records. By nightfall three sides of the barn were regenerated, and before ten o'clock the next morning the job was done. The farmer sadly paid up, grumbling."

BEGINNING THE BATTLE OF MANHOOD

When he was nineteen years old his family moved to Marion, and he settled down with them there for good, devoting himself to newspaper publishing till the time came for him to take up the nation's business.

We have seen that he was no drifter with the current, but a strong and resolute swimmer who struck out upstream regardless of the obstacles. We have seen that something in him which drove him relentlessly to self-improvement and the bettering of his opportunities.

From the beginning, Warren G. Harding made his own way. He pushed aside the obstacles that stood in his path. And the struggle did not harden him, it only deepened him. Always he was considerate of his family and thoughtful of the friends he was making. Already he had shown that ability to win men to liking and admiration that was one of his most notable characteristics in later life and that a whole nation so strikingly testified to at his death.

All these qualities were recognizable in greater or less degree of development as he stood on the threshold of manhood. The man he became was only the Ohio boy, magnified by experience and maturity.

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MAKING UP A FORM

Mr. Harding proved that he was a real printer when he showed a visitor, who came to call upon him after his nomination for the Presidency, all the steps in "putting the paper to bed"

THE HOME OF THE "MARION DAILY STAR"

The editorials from the pen of the late President made this paper known throughout the State of Ohio

Chapter IV

FIRST STEPS ON THE LADDER OF FAME

THE SCHOLAR BECOMES THE TEACHER—AN ACQUAINTANCE WITH BLACKSTONE—SELLER OF INSURANCE—THE TURNING POINT IN THE BOY'S CAREER

IT was always with a certain amount of pride that Warren G. Harding referred to the fact that the circumstances of his youth compelled him very largely to support himself. Just as he worked his way through college, from which he was graduated at an early age, so he was obliged to continue to help himself during his early manhood and before he launched what became a successful newspaper career. He spent the first year after completing his college education as a school teacher. That was the school term of 1882–83. Although his experience in this profession was limited to a single year, he made good in it as he did in everything else he undertook.

Like many another successful man, young Harding took up teaching because it was the first thing that presented itself following his college days. He had this valuable experience in a little country school about a mile and a half outside of Marion. The "Little White School," they called it. The spot is marked, although the little house since has been converted into a garage. That Mr. Harding enjoyed and profited by the experience is shown by the following comment he once made concerning it:

"It was the hardest work I ever performed."

HIS EXPERIENCE AS A TEACHER

It was this experience, however, that made him the lifelong friend of the teaching profession and that enabled him to sympathize with public-school teachers and to appraise their work and usefulness in every community.

"By experience and association," he said, "I know the school-teaching profession, sympathize with the aspirations of the teaching world, and believe as cordially as any one in America in recognizing the calling, as it merits both befitting compensation now, and comfort and security in retirement after an honored and valued public service."

Although his teaching experience was short, after Mr. Harding became a national figure there were many who recalled his early career. Even at that early age he showed his ability to impart information in a remarkable way. Knowing his later capacity to make and hold friends it is not surprising that this was the trait which most strongly marked him as a school teacher. As a young man he was athletic in bearing and unusually handsome. He was not a severe disciplinarian, though his pupils recognized his seriousness of purpose. He radiated good nature, and the young people liked him immensely.

AN ACQUAINTANCE WITH BLACKSTONE

Apparently the young school teacher had aspirations for the law, because during the period that he taught school he was an assiduous student of Blackstone. At that time he had some thought of entering the legal profession, but it never progressed further than study by himself. He never entered a lawyer's office. Nevertheless this early acquaintance with the fundamentals of

law gave him a ground work for an understanding of legal matters which was of incalculable value to him in his newspaper profession and later when he entered actively into politics.

A SELLER OF INSURANCE

Young Harding, however, tried one more profession before he became anchored in the newspaper business. He became an insurance agent. This, though, was apparently taken up because it presented itself as the next thing to do and promised immediate and satisfactory returns. This was really the first job that the young man tried when his father moved to Marion to establish himself in the practice of medicine. Curiously enough, the young man's first client proved to be his future father-in-law. That experience he related in the following words:

"Just at this time a new hotel, to cost $30,000, was going up. This was a big sum to spend for a hotel in those days. I started after that business as the agent of three insurance companies. Strange to say, one of those interested in the property was my future father-in-law, Amos Kling, though I had not then met his daughter. I got the insurance on the hotel, but it was pure luck, as I discovered later. The rates had been raised in Marion, but I was regarded as so unimportant that they did not think it worth while to notify me, so my figures were the lowest by one-fourth of a cent. I received $600 in premiums. It was a lot of money to me then."

HIS FONDNESS FOR DOGS

He had a boy's love for dogs, quickly made friends with them, and refusing to think of them as "dumb

animals," insisted that they had intelligence, and could appreciate kindness and communicate their appreciation quite as well as some human beings.

In later years, when he went to the White House, Laddie Boy, the Airedale, who became famous as the playfellow and constant companion of the President, was a joy to him as well as to Mrs. Harding.

Laddie Boy seemed to sense his importance, and the cartoonists took huge delight in making him play the leading rôle in their witticisms.

When Mr. Harding departed on that last trip to the West, Laddie Boy stood guard at the door of the White House, waiting in vain for the return of his master. Attendants at the Executive Mansion said that for several days it appeared as if the dog sensed that his master was in trouble, and he moped about the grounds with little sign of the uproarious joy with which he was accustomed to greet President and Mrs. Harding.

A EULOGY ON A BOSTON TERRIER

In 1913, Mr. Harding wrote an editorial concerning one of his dog friends which deserves to rank with the tribute paid to dogdom by the late Senator Vest of Missouri. It was the cruel act of some one in poisoning this pet of the *Star's* office that was responsible for the following touching editorial of Mr. Harding in his newspaper:

"Edgewood Hub in the register, a mark of his breeding, but to us just Hub, a little Boston terrier, whose sentient eye mirrored the fidelity and devotion of his loyal heart. The veterinary said he was poisoned; perhaps he was—his mute suffering suggested it. One is reluctant to believe that a human being who claims

man's estate could be so hateful a coward as to ruthlessly torture and kill a trusting victim, made defenseless through his confidence in the human master; but there are such. One honest look from Hub's trusting eyes was worth a hundred lying greetings from such inhuman beings, though they wore the habiliments of men.

"Perhaps you wouldn't devote these lines to a dog. But Hub was a *Star* office visitor nearly every day of the six years in which he deepened attachment. He was a grateful and devoted dog, with a dozen lovable attributes, and it somehow voices the yearning of broken companionship to pay his memory deserved tribute.

"It isn't orthodox to ascribe a soul to a dog—if soul means immortality. But Hub was loving and loyal, with the jealousy that tests its quality. He was reverent, patient, faithful; he was sympathetic, more than humanly so, sometimes, for no lure could be devised to call him from the sick bed of mistress or master. He minded his own affairs, especially worthy of human emulation, and he would kill or wound no living thing. He was modest and submissive where these qualities were becoming, yet he assumed a guardianship of the home he sentineled, until every entry was properly vouched. He couldn't speak our language, though he somehow understood, but he could be and was eloquent with uttering eye and wagging tail and the other expressions of knowing dogs. No, perhaps he had no soul, but in these things are the essence of soul and the spirit of lovable life.

"Whether the Creator planned it so, or environment and human companionship have made it so, men learn richly through the love and fidelity of a brave and devoted dog. Such loyalty might easily add lustre to a crown of immortality."

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THE TURNING POINT IN HIS CAREER

First a school teacher, then a student of law, then a seller of insurance—these were Warren Harding's first steps on the ladder of fame. He would have made a success in any branch of industry, for he had the will to work, and it is almost impossible to exaggerate the wonders that may be wrought in a brief lifetime by intense and persistent labor urged on by an iron will.

The turning point in his career was when he applied for and secured a position on the Marion *Mirror*, where he not only filled the rôle of reporter but also helped in the mechanical department. His stay with this newspaper was very brief, but it started him on the road to success as a newspaper man and eventually to the White House.

Chapter V

THE MYSTERIES OF TYPE

A SMALL TOWN NEWSPAPER—BEGINNING AT THE BOTTOM—HARDING IN THE COMPOSING ROOM—THE INSPIRATION OF LATER DAYS—A DOLLAR-A-WEEK MAN—A REPUBLICAN ON A DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER—LAUNCHED ON HIS CAREER

PRINTER'S Devil! Hardly a fitting title for a man who attained the distinction of Warren Harding, but such was the name for the position held by young Warren. It was on the Caledonia *Argus*, a weekly published in the village of this name where the boy lived with his parents, that Harding served his apprenticeship as printer's devil, so named because a "devil" does all the menial work around a printing office and at the same time assists the printer and learns the art and mechanics of printing.

Warren was only a lad, less than twelve years old in fact, hardly tall enough to reach the printer's case.

Even at this point, the lowest in his career as printer-publisher, the characteristics which were to make him a man among men and a leader among leaders tended to assert themselves. His principles of straightforwardness, integrity, honesty, and definiteness of purpose were inculcated and developed early in life.

THE INSPIRATION OF LATER DAYS

Although the experience he gained in the print shop helped him later when he edited his college paper and

reported for the *Democratic Mirror*, it was the inspiration he received when on the *Argus* that led to his love of newspaper work and ultimately his editorship and proprietorship of the Marion *Star*.

"Caledonia is the town where I first got printer's ink on my fingers," said Mr. Harding in recounting his early experiences. "I was 'devil', as print-shop apprentices are known, in the office of the Caledonia *Argus*, and learned to stick type, feed press, make up forms and wash rollers there. Stories that I began the printer's trade in college or in Marion are untrue. I simply helped edit a college paper and was a mere reporter on the Marion *Mirror*, although each week, following press day, I helped throw in and set 'time copy.' To the Caledonia *Argus* I owe the experience and inspiration that led to my connection with the Marion *Star*."

A DOLLAR-A-WEEK MAN

Shortly after he had finished his education at the Ohio Central College—then in his nineteenth year—his parents moved to Marion. By this time the newspaper germ was in his blood, and he applied for a job on the Marion *Mirror*. He was offered the princely sum of one dollar per week to serve as reporter. It is almost unbelievable in these days that a young man would be asked to work for such a pittance, but the outlook was satisfactory, for he was promised double this sum when the next opening presented itself.

His connection with the Marion *Democratic Mirror*, however, was exceedingly brief. Young Harding was an ardent Republican, made so in part by his previous newspaper experience on the Caledonia *Argus*; and it remained his party to the end.

A REPUBLICAN ON A DEMOCRATIC PAPER

The year was 1884, and the presidential battle between James G. Blaine and Grover Cleveland gripped the entire country. Harding's employers, as the name of the paper indicated, were dyed-in-the-wool Democrats, and to them it was little short of treason to have a Republican, at least an active one, on their paper.

Apparently the political principles of young Harding did not bring him into conflict with his employers until, following one of the big torch light parades and rallies, in which the members of the Blaine-Logan club to which Harding belonged participated, he wore to the office the gray "plug" hat which he and his fellow Republicans had worn.

This was sufficient to convict him of "pernicious political activity" in the eyes of his employers and they lost no time in separating him from the pay roll. It wasn't much of a loss financially, for he had not yet won his promotion to two dollars a week.

BUYING THE "STAR"

He was now out of a job, but the urge to become a newspaper man was still in the blood and he looked about for another place of attachment. There had recently been started in Marion a paper known as the *Daily Star*. Without capital, but more particularly because the owner was without ability, the paper was soon on the rocks.

Young Harding saw this, and with one of his boyhood friends, Jack Warwick, got together a fund of $300, nearly all of which they had to borrow, and bought the paper.

LAUNCHED ON HIS CAREER

He was now fairly launched on his career as an editor and publisher. He had abounding optimism, practical knowledge, and infinite tact. With these he won his way to the highest position open to any man today. He studied hard at school, and he read much in later life, but he could not be classed among the elegant and polished scholars. After all, the rough work of the world is not done by men of fine culture. Courage is not developed by the study of Greek accents. Creative power is not increased by logic. Insight is an instinct—not a product of education. Experience shows that for worldly success it is far more important to have the mind well trained than rich in the spoils of learning.

ALWAYS THE HELPING HAND

From his youngest days Warren Harding seemed to love the odor of printer's ink and to have a consuming passion for everything pertaining to a newspaper office, even down to the minutest detail of the mechanical equipment. He became an expert typesetter by hand, and when the linotype was first introduced he learned to operate the machine. He was proud to call himself a practical pressman.

As illustrative of his character, a friend recalls an incident that occurred while Mr. Harding was Senator. Entering the office of the *Star* one New Year's morning, the visitor found the then Senator Harding making up a form.

"Well, you are a great Senator!" he said in astonishment.

"I'd be a great Senator if I didn't know anything

else," said Senator Harding, smiling and extending a welcoming hand. "You see," he added, "this is a holiday, and we want to go to press as early as possible and let the boys get out and enjoy themselves; so I am just lending a helping hand."

When the task was finished they went up to the editorial sanctum, from which the rumbling of the press in the basement could be heard. Presently, as they chatted, the rumbling ceased. The inevitable, which always haunts a newspaper office in the rush hour, had happened. Springing up, he hastened to the pressroom, and with trained eye located the trouble that had interfered with the operation of the press, remedied it, and the cylinders again began to move.

This same mastery of details was a characteristic of Mr. Harding in every sphere of his active life. When he purchased his first automobile he would not rest until he had learned to manipulate it with the skill of a chauffeur, and to make such ordinary repairs as are likely to be needed when on the road.

But to return to the *Star*. It became his idol; the pet child of his youth and the pride of his manhood. It was a struggling daily paper, diminutive in size, in a struggling county-seat town of four thousand inhabitants. Young Harding yearned to possess it. Though it had had such a precarious existence that it was difficult to tell whether it were an asset or a liability, his father, having faith in the boy and wishing to gratify this supreme desire of his young ambition, lent his credit in assisting him in taking it over—the consideration being only the assumption of its indebtedness. The county was then Democratic, and this paper not even the official organ of the minority party.

With the enthusiasm of youth, and the inspiration of one who has his foot upon the first rung of the ladder of his ambition, the young man bent his energies to the task of making the *Star* a beacon-light which should shine out of the darkness, and to lift it out of the depths of all but bankruptcy and give it a financial standing above reproach.

He lived with it by day, and oftentimes far into the night. He dreamed of it. At times he performed every function from "devil" to managing editor. Thorny was the road and sometimes the coffers were so depleted that it was necessary to request advertisers to make advance payment of bills in order to keep the enterprise afloat. But he went ahead with dogged persistence and saw success at the end of the rainbow.

Chapter VI

THE EDITOR IN CHIEF

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS—THE FARM BOY BUYS A NEWSPAPER AND BECOMES PRINTER, PUBLISHER, AND EDITOR—THE MARION "STAR"—A COUNTRY PAPER FROM THE "INSIDE"—THREE MEN IN ONE—PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL POSITION—TWO STORIES OF THE EARLY DAYS—THE CREED OF THE "STAR"—MRS. HARDING: CIRCULATION MANAGER

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was proud to sign himself "Printer." No less proud of his knowledge of the printing art was Warren Gamaliel Harding. Franklin never attained the presidency, but he won international fame. Harding became the nation's twenty-ninth President, and he never lost his love for printer's ink, which he first made acquaintance with in the little town of Caledonia.

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS

There were several factors that contributed to his success in the newspaper business. One was his own genial personality; another was his expert knowledge of the mechanical department; and then there was his facile pen, which gave his editorials compelling interest. But, as he himself affirmed, an all-important factor was Florence Kling Harding, the wife and comrade who, gifted with a fine aptitude for business, threw herself heart and soul into the enterprise and helped him in large measure in building up a newspaper that was a

credit to its founders and the community in which it was published.

Warren G. Harding—"W. G." as his associates in Marion called him—was an all-around newspaper man, but he was such because he made himself thoroughly proficient in all its phases. In this respect he bore a marked resemblance to Franklin. Like that great Colonial printer-statesman, he began life in a newspaper office, and although he was called repeatedly into the service of his country, finally as President to direct the destinies of the greatest nation on earth, his newspaper remained his first love.

He was never too busy to follow the fortunes of the Marion *Star*. This paper was always to be found on his desk at the White House, and it went with him on all his travels. Indeed, Warren Harding, until shortly before he left Washington on his ill-fated trip to Alaska, looked forward to the time when, relieved of the heavy load of the presidency, he might return to the task he loved, editing the Marion *Star*. This was why he resisted almost to the last all offers for its purchase.

"I have been offered more for the Marion *Star*, a good deal more than it is worth," he said on one occasion, "by men who are seeking to pick up papers and bring them under syndicated control and management, and if I did not love the business better than anything else in the world I would quickly sell. But I am hanging on because I would rather be a newspaper publisher than anything else in the world. I like it, and I hope I am going to be the chief owner of the Marion *Star* when they settle up my estate in a legal manner."

Just before his departure for Alaska, however, the beloved Marion *Star* was sold, and the editor-President

disposed of his controlling interest. The price paid for the paper was said to be $535,000. The President's share in the proceeds of the sale was $423,000.

A COUNTRY NEWSPAPER FROM THE "INSIDE"

Mr. Harding had the love of hard work and love for the newspaper profession which distinguish successful men in all fields. Printer's ink and type had a powerful fascination for him. With his boyhood friend, Jack Warwick, he had managed to buy the *Star*, which showed at that time only feeble signs of life. But the youthful printers had an abounding faith in the future, and they were not afraid of hard work. With this equipment they rolled up their sleeves and proceeded to build up the Marion *Daily Star*.

From the very start they realized that they would have to depend solely upon their own efforts and their own manual labor to make the paper go. It was here that Warren Harding's early training came to his aid. Fortunately there was nothing about the mechanical side of the newspaper that he did not know. He could set type, make up forms, ink and feed the press.

For an accurate picture of this enterprise something should be said about the country newspaper of that day. In the case of the *Star* it was a four-page sheet which made its appearance once a week. It contained a little local news, the inevitable boiler plate sent out by syndicates, and as much advertising as could be pried out of the local merchants.

THREE MEN IN ONE

Thus the labor of getting out the paper was divided into three parts—the collection and editing of the news,

soliciting advertisements and, finally, transferring all this news and advertising copy to type and printing it. Three separate jobs, yet young Harding had to be three men in one. After he had collected his news he had to write it out. He was his own copy editor and nobody corrected what he wrote. The next step was to set it in type. And there is abundant testimony for the statement that few printers in that day or since could set more type in a given length of time than young Harding. As he frequently said, there were times when with press hour near at hand he would compose an important piece of news over the case. He was his own proof-reader, too.

Then came the "make-up" job. This consisted in putting the type into the forms, arranging and adjusting the columns, displaying the advertising to the best advantage and finally locking up for the press. The youthful editor was also a good mechanic. He took infinite pains with his work and had all of the printer's pride in a good-looking page.

Without any desire to show off, Mr. Harding was always intensely fond in his later life of "keeping his hand in" by helping to make up a newspaper. Just before his inauguration he took one of his visitors down to the plant of the Marion *Star*, and to the visitor's amazement the President-elect went into the composing room and actually made up several pages of his newspaper.

Mr. Harding always carried in his trousers pocket for good luck a printer's 13-em rule. Bringing this into action he transferred type from the galley to the form with the dexterity of an expert. He made transpositions here and justified there until the paper looked right, all

the while following the make-up man's dummy. For good measure he helped send the page to the stereotypers and then took his astonished visitor down to the pressroom to receive the first copy of the paper that had been made up in part by a President elect of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT IN THE "TRIBUNE" OFFICE

Another instance that showed how closely President Harding kept himself informed of all the changes and improvements in the mechanical side of the newspaper was during his visit to New York in April, 1923. Following his address before the Associated Press, when he outlined his policy concerning the World Court, Mr. Harding closed his day with a visit to the new plant of the New York *Tribune.* His chief interest was the composing room, equipped with the very latest mechanical appliances. He came to the form where the editorial page was being made up. Remembering the incident when following his election he made up a part of his own paper in Marion, some one suggested that he might like to make up the editorial page of the *Tribune.* At once the President divested himself of his dress coat and, rolling up his sleeves and with the dummy before him as a guide, he proceeded to make up that page with a skill equal to that of any printer in the room.

Not only could Mr. Harding set type by hand, as was the custom before the invention of the linotype machines, but he early learned to operate this machine. It is related of him that during one of the political campaigns, when he was traveling through Indiana and had a long wait between trains, he strolled into a newspaper office. When upon going through the composing

room he found them short one operator, he volunteered to help the foreman out of his difficulty. He showed such skill and turned out such a creditable amount of work that the foreman offered him a job on the spot. Imagine his astonishment to learn that the man to whom he offered this job was a U. S. Senator from Ohio.

THE ADVERTISING MAN

Warren Harding's success in obtaining liberal advertising patronage for his paper proved that he was a natural salesman. Those who are familiar with rural newspapers of that period can readily picture the character of the local advertising that merchants were accustomed to. They did not realize the value of intelligent advertising. In fact, the value of newspaper advertising was in general a debatable subject. Young Harding needed their business to make his paper successful financially, and he needed much more advertising than they were accustomed to give him. So he set out to show them its value, to demonstrate that every cent spent in intelligent advertising earned a dividend. It was a difficult field, but an examination of the files of the Marion *Star* will show just how successful young Harding was.

He didn't try to bulldoze the merchants into using his advertising columns. He wanted every business man to realize that his advertising was earning profits. He wanted to give them results. He had to meet and overcome every variety of objections. To the merchant who told him that advertising didn't pay he returned the convincing argument that his rivals who were using his columns were getting his trade. He was equally persuasive with the merchant who insisted that he couldn't

afford to advertise. Always the young editor tried to render real service. He planned advertising campaigns, wrote the copy and selected the type for merchants, and at a period before the great advertising agencies of the country were using just such methods. Even in those days Warren Harding had a personality that men could not resist.

JOB PRINTER

While developing the advertising side of his business, the young publishers developed a new and profitable line, that of job printing. They went after all the commercial printing they could get in the town, and since they did this work promptly and well the job department immediately became one of the most profitable features of the *Star*.

It was inevitable that a man with Warren Harding's ability, personality and ambition would not be content to depend upon his own labors for his success in life. With the newspaper on a firm and paying basis he began to devote himself more and more to the editorial direction of his paper. He was now rapidly becoming an important character in Marion.

A LEADER IN THE COMMUNITY

Being the editor of the leading newspaper, he was always included in invitations to participate in community enterprises of all sorts, in politics and in the social life of the town. As far as community enterprises went, the youthful editor was the town's best booster. He took a genuine interest in everything that went on and his paper could always be depended upon to promote every civic movement. He showed such conspicuous

ability, and had such a likable personality withal, that unconsciously he became one of Marion's leading citizens.

Naturally he took a deep interest in politics. Always a Republican, in spite of the brief period when he worked on a Democratic newspaper, he was an active worker. It is true that Mr. Harding was a strong party man, but he was noted for his conspicuous fairness to the opposition. What always distinguished him and the editorial policy of his newspaper was that he never descended to personalities. He allowed nothing that was mean or unfair to appear in his paper. How Harding developed this personal and political creed is not only a most interesting story but shows the character of the man as nothing else could do.

Less than four months before his death President Harding, forgetting for the time that he was the nation's President, took his place as a fellow editor in the annual convention of the Society of Newspaper Editors held in Washington, at which was drawn up an editorial creed representing the highest ideals of the newspaper profession. Editor Harding took part in the discussion, helped to formulate the articles of faith and then recounted some of his own experiences.

TWO STORIES OF THE EARLY DAYS

He told two incidents in his own life which had a powerful influence in formulating those principles which guided him in his editorial and political career. Addressing his fellow editors, he said:

"I wonder if any of you ever have memories of retrospection when there comes to you, in the recollection of your lives, some event which you regret more than

others. I have a lot of them to regret, but there are two particular instances which apply to this code of ethics.

"The first was when I was a boy eight years old. It was my fortune every summer to go to the home of my grandfather on the farm. One of my chores was to bring in the cows at milking time, and one evening I got my orders to go for the cows and was unwillingly complying, and as I skipped along, boylike I picked up a stone, what we called a sailer, a thin stone—you will remember, you throw it and it sails in the air—and I let it go without any responsibility or design at a flock of geese.

"And, by some misfortune of fate, the sharp edge of this stone struck a fine, big gander right in the side of the head and he whirled a half dozen times and fell dead. Well, in my excess of sorrow that I had killed the gander and my sense of injury to my grandfather, I rushed after the cows. And when I came back I found my grandmother plucking the gander to save the feathers, and grandfather was orating. He had examined the dead bird and had concluded that it had been killed by a very ill-behaved turkey gobbler, and he had reasoned it out that the gobbler had struck him in the side of the head and had killed him and had thereupon decreed the gobbler should die. And there I stood, a boyish culprit and liar through omission, saying nothing in the gobbler's defense, and he went to the block and I helped to eat him. And a more innocent gobbler had never lived and died.

"It may seem strange, but that incident has occurred to me a thousand times in my life and is ever impelling a fair statement.

"And the other one was a sillier one still. In the

very early days of my newspaperdom (it takes me back so long it will be amusing to you)—I rolled my first form forty-six years ago next month—within a week after I had stacked my first stick of type as an eleven-year old boy. I don't say it to boast. I say it because the atmosphere of this occasion suggests it. I have done everything in a newspaper office that anybody ever did, including taking a licking.

"Well, in the early days of the newspaper business, we felt an obligation, and it was quite the custom in the small towns to have the editor specially invited for the all-important event, social or otherwise, and there was a very prominent wedding in my town and I was not invited. I took it very much to heart, and, like a culprit, on that occasion, after the wedding, I published the news of the marriage as an obligation but limited it to a three-line item without a headline.

"And the little notice of the wedding was so remarked about that there came to me the inevitable remorse of conscience that I concluded never after that, in the newspaper with which I was associated, should the news in any manner be appraised by the prejudices of the editor and the paper."

AN EDITOR OF CONSPICUOUS ABILITY

It is no wonder that Warren Harding, working and living in accordance with principles of this sort, won first the respect, admiration and friendship of his own neighbors, and then began to build up a state and national reputation. His newspaper was edited with conspicuous ability. Its editorials, many of which Mr. Harding wrote personally, attracted the attention of public men and marked the editor as a coming man.

Naturally much has been said concerning the literary and editorial style of Mr. Harding. It would be a mistake to say that he was in any respect a genius like Greeley of the *Tribune*, Charles A. Dana of the New York *Sun* or Joseph Medill of the Chicago *Tribune*, to mention only a few of the great editors who attracted nation-wide attention just before and during the editorship of Mr. Harding. He never aspired to fine writing. He wrote a great deal, and a critical analysis of his speeches and state papers will disclose nothing but straightforward writing. As a President he did not have the admirable literary style that distinguished his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, but he had the gift of clear, strong statement such as the average man or woman understands.

THE CREED OF THE MARION "STAR"

Mr. Harding's sense of justice and fairness was so marked that it is small wonder he should have evolved a creed of his own. Here it is, and he compelled every man in his employ to observe it to the letter:

"Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

"Be truthful. Get the facts.

"Mistakes are inevitable, but strive for accuracy. I would rather have one story exactly right than a hundred half wrong.

"Be decent, be fair, be generous.

"Boost—don't knock.

"There's good in everybody. Bring out the good and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody.

"In reporting a political gathering give the facts, tell the story as it is, not as you would like to have it.

Treat all parties alike. If there's any politics to be played we will play it in our editorial columns.

"Treat all religious matter reverently.

"If it can possibly be avoided never bring ignominy to an innocent man or child in telling of the misdeed or misfortune of a relative.

"Don't wait to be asked, but do it without asking and, above all, be clean and never let a dirty word or suggestive story get into type.

"I want this paper to be so conducted that it can go into any home without destroying the innocence of children."

This creed is about as near the Golden Rule as could be applied to journalism. That Warren Harding lived it as near as was humanly possible is the testimony of all his neighbors, irrespective of politics.

A SUPPLIANT AT THE EDITOR'S DESK

Mr. Harding had no patience with some of the modern tendencies toward sensationalism in the press. In particular, he decried the detailed publication of stories of vice. To a group of the nation's editors he once said:

"I believe if I were to write a code and could write it for all the newspapers of America, I would ban anything of a vicious character except that which is necessary as a public warning. If I ran a newspaper to suit my own ideals there would not be a police court reporter on the paper—never a police court column in the paper.

"And I got my ideas about that in a very peculiar way. One day as I was sitting at the editorial desk of my little paper out in Marion, a perfect roughneck came

THE HOME OF WARREN G. HARDING AT MARION, OHIO
The scene of the famous "Front Porch" campaign for the Presidency

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THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN SESSION

This convention, held at Chicago in June, 1920, nominated Warren G. Harding, then a member of the United States Senate, for the Presidency

into my office, came in with something of a swagger, and he said:

"'Harding, I know you. You don't know me. And I want to ask you a favor.'

"'Go ahead,' I said.

"He replied: 'I was arrested last night for getting into a fuss with a railroad conductor on whose train I was beating a ride, and my old mother is a dear old lady, and she is sick. And it won't do you any good to have that in your paper, and it will break my old mother's heart. Won't you leave it out for me?'

"A roughneck, I cared nothing for him, but I cared for his appeal, and I said for myself: 'What good is it to the readers of the Marion *Star* to see that Bob D. has been arrested for having a fuss with a railroad conductor? I will leave him out,' and I left his name out of the paper. Nobody missed it. And that act of consideration and decency reformed the life of that man and made him a respectable citizen. It carried its appeal.

"You know there is a fine bit of ethics sometimes in the omission of news, as well as the publication of it. I think that there are often times when the news ought to be suppressed."

A UNION MAN

One of the reasons for Mr. Harding's success as a newspaper man and a politician was his thorough understanding of the laboring man's viewpoint. He knew how to coöperate. He was a laboring man himself, and it required no effort for him to see things through the laboring man's eyes. Early in his newspaper career Mr. Harding worked out a coöperative scheme by which

every man in the employ of the Marion *Star* shared in the profits of the paper in addition to receiving his regular salary. Mr. Harding was a union labor man himself, always carrying his membership card with him, and it is worthy of note that the local union, irrespective of the political affiliations of its members, was the first to indorse Mr. Harding for the Presidency following his nomination.

EARLY NEWSPAPER HABITS WHICH HE RETAINED

Mr. Harding never got away from his newspaper training in his later public life. During the period when he was a member of the Senate from Ohio, as well as when he was President, he clung to his early habits of work. One of these was to do all his important writing in the early morning hours, when his mind was fresh, and because at this time he would not be bothered by callers. This was really a great relief to him, and it accounted for the prodigious amount of work that he could turn out in a day.

Mr. Harding's newspaper training enabled him to express himself easily. To this discipline also he owed a habit he had of carrying a pad or folded sheets of what newspaper men call "copy paper" in his pocket. When traveling on the train or in his automobile he would be seen to pull forth the small pad or piece of paper and write out his thoughts. It was reminiscent of a habit of Horace Greeley, who was frequently seen to seat himself on some convenient steps and, with his high hat as a table, dash off an editorial or special article. Many of Mr. Harding's most important papers were produced in this fashion. It is a trait of newspaper men that they must learn to write in any place and

under any circumstances. Mr. Harding had this peculiar ability to detach himself from his surroundings.

THE CAMPAIGN AND THE EDITORIAL COLUMNS

Reference has already been made to Mr. Harding's high journalistic ideals. Although in his later days, particularly after he had been pressed into the public service, he did not actively help in the make up of his paper, he was a frequent editorial contributor. His paper, in fact, was noted for the soundness of its editorials, especially their treatment of state and national politics. Many of these Mr. Harding wrote himself. Most editorial writers, of course, do their work anonymously. This has its advantages and likewise its disadvantages. It permits unscrupulous editors to make attacks which they can thus do safely. Also it prevents appropriate credit going where it should go. Since Mr. Harding had made it a rule of his editorial life to be fair in both the news and editorial columns, there was small opportunity for any hurt to come to him by those who, as they did during his campaign for the presidency, searched his editorial columns for some article which they might quote to his disadvantage. None were found.

MRS. HARDING: CIRCULATION MANAGER

On the subject of his newspaper prosperity, this sketch would be incomplete did it not describe the part Mrs. Harding played in it. The young publishers were beginning to see daylight ahead at the time he married Florence Kling. The daughter of a successful banker, his wife took a keen interest in the business administration of the paper. She created for herself the position of circulation manager. Again it must

be explained that the rural newspaper, even the daily, presents vastly different problems, business as well as editorial, from its urban rival. At that time the paper was delivered to the homes of all its subscribers by newsboys. Marion was a small town, and since the *Star* was an evening paper then, the boys of the town made the deliveries after school hours. They were also the collectors. It was this force that Mrs. Harding organized. She made herself the friend of the boys, kept their accounts for them and managed this end of the business with such ability that Mr. Harding never tired of giving her equal credit for the success of the *Star*.

The *Star* made good financially from the very start. Not once after Warren Harding became connected with it did it miss an issue. Although at the time it probably was not worth more than the $300 that young Harding and Warwick paid for it, it became a money maker and earned the Hardings a comfortable income.

Chapter VII

IN THE PUBLIC EYE

FROM EDITOR'S CHAIR TO PUBLIC PLATFORM—STATE SENATOR AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR—FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MCKINLEY

FOR a number of years Warren G. Harding devoted himself to building up his newspaper and general printing business, gaining in the esteem of his fellow townsmen of Marion, but little known to the outside world, except for the editorials in the *Star*, which were extensively quoted.

He increased his business interests, and for a time it seemed that "W. G." would develop into the average type of successful businessman who makes a name and place for himself in the industrial world. But his interest in politics, which dated back to his earliest reporter days, vied with his interest in business and won out in the end.

He developed a fluency of speech and became popular on the platforms of Republican clubs. Without any especial gift of oratory, he had a manner of phrasing that caught the attention of audiences and, combined with his attractive personality, brought him into the public eye.

Very early in his political career the people realized that here was a man of sound common sense and of unusual strength of character who might be depended upon to represent a constituency in a wholly acceptable manner.

STATE SENATOR

The favorable impression which he created in his public appearances continued to grow, and, at the age of 33, he was elected a member of the upper chamber of the Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Ohio General Assemblies on the Republican ticket as senator from the Thirteenth Ohio District, representing the counties of Hardin, Logan, Marion, and Union, serving from 1899 to 1903.

Already famed in his own home town of Marion, he now became a State figure of commanding importance. Almost immediately he became the center of admiring groups, who began to see in him that admirable patience, poise, industry, and earnestness which characterized him throughout his life.

With his gift for enlisting men and holding their loyalty, he was, unhesitatingly, accepted as a leader. This leadership was later recognized in his nomination and election as lieutenant governor.

As State Senator he remained a firm party man, and in addition greatly widened his circle of friendship. His great good nature, engaging personal bearing, and unvarying courtesy made him well liked by everybody, regardless of party.

FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF MCKINLEY

His political career began at the time that William McKinley was President. He had always been a great admirer of McKinley—another favorite son of Ohio—and it was at a political rally at Scottown Grove, where McKinley himself had spoken, that Warren G. Harding made his second public speech. He approved of McKinley's policies and spoke of him as a man who best typified Americanism.

"McKinley lived and preached it," said Harding on one occasion; "lived, preached and practiced it, first as the cure for national disaster, and later for the guaranty of the greater good fortunes of the American people. His Americanism wrought the restoration in times of peace, and proved the Republic's readiness for every becoming burden for humanity's sake in war's aftermath."

McKinley had been elected Governor of Ohio in 1891, and reëlected in 1893. Bushnell and Nash succeeded him in office; and in 1903 Myron T. Herrick was elected Governor of the State of Ohio with the largest majority in the history of the State, over Tom L. Johnson, his opponent. Warren G. Harding was elected Lieutenant Governor of Ohio on the same ticket. Between the two men there was the utmost good will; a friendship that continued unbroken throughout the ensuing years.

So much did Mr. Harding think of Governor Herrick's ability that when the Lieutenant Governor of Ohio became President of the United States he appointed the former Governor Ambassador to France, one of the most important posts in the ambassadorial service, and a position to which he had been appointed by President Taft in 1912.

State Senator from 1900 to 1904, and Lieutenant Governor from 1904 to 1906, was the record of Warren G. Harding so far as his political career in Ohio is concerned. For a few years he returned to Marion and gave his attention to the development of the Harding Publishing Company, which he organized, with himself as president, and distributed shares of stock among his employees. His dealings with his employees were of the most agreeable character. There were no labor troubles in his company; he never had a strike.

THE RACE FOR GOVERNOR

Besides his publishing business he had many other interests, and was a member of the directorates of various enterprises. He had demonstrated his ability in the business field, but he was drawn also to the political arena, and after a year or two in Marion we find him running for Governor of the State in 1910. Party quarrels brought about his defeat, and Judson Harmon, who had been elected in 1908, was reëlected to the office. Governor Harmon, it may be added, was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency at Baltimore in 1912.

This was Mr. Harding's first political defeat, and as a defeat for which he was himself in no way responsible, he was naturally somewhat hurt by it. He stated publicly that he intended to abandon politics and return to the congenial and more grateful labors of journalism. This impulse, however, was but a passing one, and early in 1912 we find him ardently supporting William Howard Taft for renomination and reëlection as President, a reëlection which Mr. Harding felt the President had genuinely earned.

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THE FRONT PORCH CAMPAIGN

The innate simplicity and aversion to display which was the keynote of Mr. Harding's character, led him to choose a campaign from his own front porch, and the little town of Marion became almost overnight the center of interest for the nation. Here came delegations from every section of the country and the Republican candidate spoke to them in simple heart-to-heart talks which brought him nearer to the soul of the people than if he had "stumped the country" with brass bands

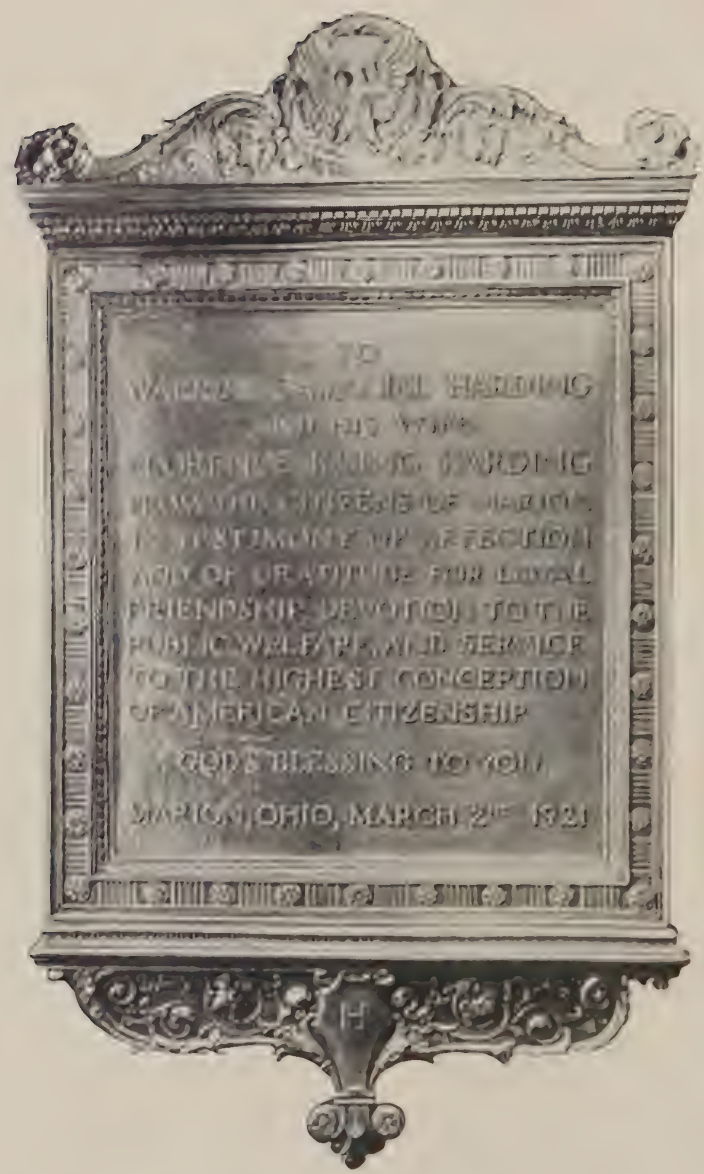

Photo by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

SILVER PLAQUE PRESENTED BY THE CITIZENS OF MARION TO MR. AND MRS. HARDING

A touching tribute from the friends of a lifetime

Chapter VIII

THE SENATOR

THE FRIENDLY FIGHT WITH FORAKER—HIS ELECTION TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE—PROGRESSIVISM PLUS SANITY—HOLDING THE CHARTER OF REPUBLICANISM INVIOLATE—HIS VIEWS ON PROTECTION AND OTHER ISSUES—CAMPAIGNER FOR HUGHES

NOTHING in his entire political career was more characteristic of Warren G. Harding's fairness and frankness than the circumstances of his election to the Senate of the United States. Early in 1914 a strong element of the Republican party in Ohio looked to him as the fittest candidate, and asked him to accept the nomination if it were given to him in the primary election. To this he was inclined to demur. He could not say that he would not prize the place, nor did he fear that nomination might not be followed by election. But he wanted, more than any personal preferment, to act fairly toward all other possible candidates, and also to promote reunion of the party which had been rent asunder in the campaign of 1912.

FRIENDS, BUT POLITICAL ENEMIES

There was another candidate, whom Mr. Harding regarded as having a stronger claim upon the nomination than himself. This was Joseph Benson Foraker, who had already had a brilliant career in the Senate, but had in 1908 failed to secure reëlection, the Democrats having a majority of the Legislature—by which

at that time Senators were elected. That defeat rankled in Foraker's heart, and he was mightily ambitious to secure a vindication by reëlection at the hands of the people, to whom by this time the election of Senators had been committed by constitutional amendment. In this Harding sympathized with him, and on that account he was reluctant to enter the primary contest against him. Moreover, although they had more than once had political differences within the party, he and Foraker were close personal friends.

For these reasons Harding strove to avoid being put forward as a candidate. His sincerity would not permit him to say that he would not accept the nomination, but he determined to discourage his friends from nominating him, and he also determined so to act that it would be evident that the nomination, if it finally came to him, was not of his seeking. So just at the very time when a candidate should have been at home, "fixing his political fences" and marshaling his forces for the primary elections, he went off to Texas on a hunting trip, for two months. His expectation was that in his absence his friends would abandon all thought of nominating him, and would give their support to Foraker. At any rate, he was leaving the field free for Foraker to win if he could.

A FRANK TALK WITH FORAKER

On his return from Texas, however, he found that sentiment in his favor was still stronger and more insistent. Indeed, it was so strong and so general that he could not ignore it nor refuse to profit by it. So he went straight to Foraker at Cincinnati, and in a frank face-to-face talk with his old friend told him

that he could no longer restrain his friends from putting his name before the primaries, and that therefore he could not do otherwise than to let himself be announced as a candidate.

A spirited but friendly campaign ensued, the result of which was Harding's nomination by a substantial plurality; so large indeed as to make it evident that he was the strongest man in the party. This fact was powerfully confirmed by the result of the election. He was elected by the overwhelming plurality of more than 102,000 votes, and he ran about 73,000 votes ahead of the next highest candidate on his own ticket.

THE FIRST YEAR IN THE SENATE

During his first year in the Senate he was a diligent student and an efficient worker in the various committees of which he was a member. He made no attempt to make himself conspicuous on the floor, but nature had made him conspicuous in spite of himself. His large and handsome figure and face attracted the attention of visitors in the galleries, and his pleasing voice and impressive manner caused his speeches to be listened to more carefully than those of many older and better known Senators.

Personally he was greatly liked, by political foes as well as friends, and his clear, logical mind and his vast fund of practical and honest common sense caused him more and more to be looked to as an adviser and leader. By the middle of his second year he was generally recognized as one of the most influential members of the Senate. His membership in the immensely important Committee on Foreign Affairs made him a marked man in all debates over the World War and its issues, and

incidentally gave him an admirable preparation for the Presidency.

FOR SANE PROGRESSIVISM

He was a good representative of both the wings of the then reunited Republican party. Unwavering in his adherence to the great fundamental principles of the party, he was heartily in sympathy with sane Progressivism. He had made the convention speech nominating William H. Taft for reëlection in the convention of 1912; but he was so warm an admirer of Theodore Roosevelt that he was the author of a Senate resolution which, had it been enacted into law, would have permitted the man from Oyster Bay to fulfil his ambition of leading an army across the Atlantic into the World War.

He was a consistent supporter of the protective tariff policy of the Republican party, aiming so to adapt and apply the protective principle as to promote the interests of American workingmen. He was also an advocate of governmental aid for the restoration of the American merchant marine to its former commanding rank on the high seas. Generally he voted with the majority of his party on measures before the Senate on which party lines were at all drawn, though he did not do so invariably. He voted for the submission of both the prohibition amendment and the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution to the States for their ratification.

HIS SUPPORT OF WOODROW WILSON'S ADMINISTRATION

After the outbreak of the World War, and before the entry of the United States into it, Senator Harding cordially supported the Democratic administration of

President Wilson in such efforts as it made to uphold American rights, though he did not hesitate to criticise it unfavorably whenever, as it seemed to him, it failed in that duty.

His prominence in the Senate, and his high rank as an authoritative exponent of Republican principles and policies led to his making many important public addresses on various occasions in various parts of the country.

MAKES THE "KEYNOTE SPEECH"

In June, 1916, he was selected by the Republican National Committee to be the temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention which was to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. In that capacity he had to make the "keynote speech", which would outline the issues on which the party proposed to fight the campaign. This selection of him was satisfactory to the Progressive wing of the party as well as to the "Regulars", and served more fully to cement the reunion of the party.

Much of his "keynote speech" was naturally devoted to the World War which was then raging, and to the interests of the United States in relation to it, and he made some utterances which were a significant prelude to his action afterward toward the League of Nations and the World Court. Thus he said: "The cloistered life is not possible to the potential man or the potential nation. Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine, stronger for a century's maintenance, fixes an obligation of New World sponsorship and Old World obligation. Our part must not be dictatorial; it must be trusted leadership in a fraternity of American Republics." If the United States government, he continued, was to

urge the world's attention to international justice and to become the agency of a progressive civilization, it "must assume the responsibilities of influence and example, and accept the burdens of enlarged participation." He criticised the Shipping bill because of its government ownership features, and denounced the attempts of the Democratic administration to scuttle out of the Philippines and "to set adrift an island empire, in violation of our obligations to the world, to the Philippines and to ourselves." The peroration of his speech was a definition of Americanism as he and the Republican party conceived it.

CAMPAIGNER FOR CHARLES E. HUGHES

At that convention the Hon. Charles E. Hughes was made the party's candidate for President of the United States, and Senator Harding was appropriately made the chairman of the committee which formally notified Mr. Hughes of that fact. His notification speech was brief and was confined to the matter in hand. Following this, he was an indefatigable campaigner for Mr. Hughes, who was narrowly defeated at the polls. During the ensuing winter, of 1916–17, the question of our entry into the war was foremost in the Senate, and on it Harding frequently spoke in no uncertain tones. When, in response to President Wilson's recommendation, Congress voted to recognize the existence of a state of war with Germany, he made a noteworthy speech in the Senate on the resolution—for which of course he voted—in which he declared he was ready at any time to vote "for the maintenance of our rights and the preservation of the covenant inherited from our fathers."

Chapter IX

THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER

HARDING'S STAND ON THE SELECTIVE DRAFT BILL—THE ESPIONAGE BILL—FOOD CONTROL—THE FAMOUS ROUND ROBIN—THE DEBATE ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT AND THE VOLSTEAD LAW—THE FIGHT ON THE TREATY—NATIONALITY OR THE LEAGUE—APPROVAL OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S VISIT TO EUROPE—HIS OBJECTION TO SUPERGOVERNMENT

THE actual entry of the United States into the World War produced, at least for a time, a profound change in the political atmosphere of Washington. There is an ancient maxim, *Inter arma, leges silent.* In this case, at least, amid the clash of arms the voice of faction was stilled. Party was overlooked in patriotism. The President was a Democrat, who had been intensely antagonistic to Republicans. But now Republicans rallied to his support, for the vigorous prosecution of the war, as zealously as any members of his own party. Indeed, the chief opposition to the President's war measures came from the Democratic side of Congress, and much of the most effective advocacy of them from the Republican side.

HARDING'S UNGRUDGING SUPPORT

Among those Senators who thus sunk partisanship in patriotism and gave the President ungrudging support in the prosecution of the war, Warren G. Harding had

a foremost place. He was one of the most outspoken champions of the various war measures, which were presented to Congress by the President, and was an unsparing critic of all obstructionists, regardless of the party to which they belonged. He was intolerant of needless delay, and regarded wilful filibustering as little less than treason.

When some protested that a virtual War Dictatorship was being created for the President, he declared that he welcomed such an arrangement. When others objected that it was un-American, he replied: "Whether it is or is not American, it will be made American once the condition is an established fact. . . . It appears to me that the founder of our nationality, George Washington, convinced himself that in times of national crises supreme power should be vested in one head, and that all responsibility as well as power should be vested there. In his matchless vision Hamilton saw the necessity of such provision, and his influence in the drafting of the Constitution was such that every avenue was opened for casting to one man in a crisis all power."

SUPPORTER OF MANY WAR MEASURES

Always a strong and effective speaker, he was a tower of strength to the President in debate, and his ringing utterances greatly commended him to the general public. He was, of course, by no means a blind follower of the Administration. He scanned and analyzed all its measures and policies, and not infrequently criticised defects in them and proposed amendments. But this was for construction, not obstruction; to help the President win the war, not to embarrass him. Among the important war measures which he supported and for

which he voted were the Selective Service act, which enabled the creation of the gigantic army which crossed the seas; the Espionage act, which made it possible summarily to deal with German spies and plotters and with disloyal Americans; the Food Control act, which enabled the United States to do a work of inestimable value and importance in supplying our Allies with food; the bill prohibiting trading with the enemy in any way; the bill for taking over the ships of enemies which had been interned in our ports; and the War Risk Insurance bill.

Two other important measures were urged by the President as essential to the successful prosecution of the war, one being the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution, and the other the Prohibition Amendment. Senator Harding probably thought, as did a majority of his colleagues, that the relationship between them and winning the war was too slight for serious consideration. Nevertheless he was not inclined to haggle over the case. On fixed principles he was a believer in woman suffrage and also in abating the evils of the liquor traffic, and accordingly he voted for both Amendments, to submit them to the States for ratification. After the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment, he supported the Volstead act for the enforcement of it, and he voted for it on final passage and also for repassing it over President Wilson's veto.

His attitude toward the Prohibition Amendment was clearly set forth in one of his speeches in the Senate, on August 1, 1917, in which he said: "I am not a Prohibitionist, and never have pretended to be. I do claim to be a temperance man. I do not approach this question from a moral viewpoint, because I am unable to see it

as a great moral question. But I do see the ethical and economical side of it, and when it comes to a decision on this point, at a time when we are boasting of our warfare for popular government, I cannot be inconsistent enough to deny the settlement of this much-mooted question by popular will in the only manner which the Constitution provides."

ACTIVITIES AS A LEGISLATOR

He voted and spoke for the Esch-Cummings Railroad bill, regardless of the danger that thus he might be incurring danger of the opposition and enmity of labor organizations. He vigorously opposed the so-called Plumb plan, looking toward government ownership of the roads, and he voted for the return of the railroads to the companies within one year after the end of the war.

The number and variety of his activities and interests as a legislator may be estimated from the number and variety of the committee places which he filled. He was chairman of the Committee on the Philippines, and a member of the committees on Foreign Relations, on Commerce, on the Territories, on Naval Affairs, on Claims, on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, on the Pacific Islands, on Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, on Public Health and National Quarantine, and on Standards, Weights and Measures.

In the work of all these he was deeply interested and was actively engaged. Indeed there was probably no man in the Senate who was a more industrious and conscientious committee worker than he; a somewhat unusual fact in relation to a man who had an exceptional gift for oratory on the floor of the Senate, since speechmakers have not always been hard workers in the less

showy duties of the committee room. He did not rank conspicuously as the author or sponsor of noteworthy acts of legislation, but there were few enactments which did not receive some touch or impress from his mind.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN ARMENIA

He was sponsor for the one serious effort which was made after the war for the rescue of the pitiful remnant of the Armenian people from extermination. He drafted and secured the introduction of a resolution setting forth that the American people were deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation and general misery prevailing in Armenia; congratulating the Armenians upon the achievement of their national independence and expressing hope that their national aspirations would soon be fully realized; and requesting the President to send an American warship and a force of marines to the port of Batoum for the protection of American lives and property.

In discussing this resolution in the Senate he said frankly that while there was actual and pressing need of affording protection to American interests in that region, the object of the resolution was also to maintain communications between Batoum and Erivan, the capital of Armenia.

Unhappily this noble project, which would probably have saved Armenia from destruction, was not permitted to succeed; but the Powers, with America consenting, permitted the Armenian State to be abolished by the Turks, its very name stricken from the map, and the surviving remnant of the Armenian people, the oldest Christian nation of the world, to be exterminated.

THE FAMOUS "ROUND ROBIN"

Earnestly as he had supported the Administration in its effective war measures, he found himself compelled to part company with it in the making of peace. Different as such a course was from his own inclinations and his own way of doing things, he acquiesced in President Wilson's purpose to go in person to Paris to represent this country in the Peace Conference. But from the plans and purposes which the President there disclosed he dissented most vigorously and resolutely, though not always so violently as some of his colleagues.

Especially did he disapprove the coupling of the Treaty of Peace with the Covenant of the League of Nations and the making our approval of the Covenant an imperative prerequisite of our making peace with Germany.

He held that the two things should have been separate; that a treaty of peace, pure and simple, should have been made first, and that the question of a League of Nations should have been taken up afterward; and he was one of the thirty-seven Senators who signed the famous "round robin" declaring their disapproval of the President's course in seeking a League first and peace afterward and in interweaving the Covenant with the Peace Treaty so inseparably that we could not ratify the latter without accepting the former.

ARTICLE TEN

His chief objections were to the notorious Article Ten of the Covenant, which in his view would have compelled the United States at any time when required by the League, to send its army and navy to any part of the world to take part in a war in which this country

had no interest; to the practical repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine; and to the creation of a superstate, to which the independence and sovereignty of the United States would be subordinated.

He accordingly participated in the formulation of reservations safeguarding these points of danger to America.

These reservations were substantially identical with those which the Senate had repeatedly appended to former treaties, and would of course have been unhesitatingly accepted by the other signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, as former reservations had always been.

But President Wilson refused to accept them, insisting that the treaty, with the Covenant, must be either ratified without the dotting of an i or the crossing of a t, or else wholly rejected. He therefore instructed his party supporters in the Senate to vote against the ratification of the treaty, after a majority of the Senate had adopted the reservations; and the treaty was thus, at his mandate, rejected.

Senator Harding voted for all of the reservations, or else was paired in favor of them with Senator Oscar Underwood, of Alabama, who opposed them; and he also voted for the final ratification of the treaty with the reservations.

OPPOSITION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In that famous contest over the League of Nations Senator Harding made unmistakably clear the principles which he afterward developed in his policy as President. He opposed the League because it seemed to him to create a superstate which would deal with international disputes on grounds of political expediency and in

accord with the selfish designs of the principal powers. Instead, he advocated a voluntary association of sovereign nations, on a basis of equality, to settle disputes on the basis of international law, in a permanent international court of justice. That was the essential principle of his policy, which he thereafter consistently advocated to the very end of his career.

"An international arbitration and a world court for justiciable disputes," he said, "appeal to all who think justice is sustained in reason rather than in armed disputes. The establishment of an agency for the revelation of the moral judgment of the world can never be amiss. These things might well have come out of the combined consciences of the nations awakened to new ideas amid the sufferings of war, and they will yet come. But it does not require a supergovernment to effect them, nor the surrender of nationality and independence of action to sanction them."

Chapter X

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION OF 1920

PREPARATION FOR "THE GREAT AND SOLEMN REFERENDUM"—THE MEN IN THE SPOTLIGHT—ORGANIZATION OF THE HARDING MOVEMENT—A FEARLESSLY OUTSPOKEN CANDIDATE—THE DEADLOCK—THE WINNING BALLOT

SENATOR HARDING was no "dark horse" candidate for the Presidency at the Republican National Convention of 1920. For years he had been one of the conspicuous national leaders of his party, and for several years he had been one of the foremost members of the Senate of the United States. Eight years before he had been a dominant figure in the national convention of the party, and had been its spokesman in placing its candidate in nomination. Four years before he had been really the foremost figure in its convention, making as its temporary chairman the "keynote speech" outlining the issues on which the campaign was to be fought; and had in that convention himself been talked of as a candidate, though he gave such talk no encouragement.

But as the campaign of 1920 approached, in which was to be taken the "great and solemn referendum" which President Wilson had invoked on the question of the League of Nations, it became evident that the Republican candidate must be a man strongly identified with both opposition to the Covenant of the League and with advocacy of the alternative, an association of free and independent nations.

Some few prominent Republicans inclined toward acceptance of the Covenant, while others went to the other extreme of opposing any coöperation whatever with other nations and advocated a policy of isolation quite foreign to the established principles of the United States. Obviously, none of these would be acceptable, although several sought to obtain the nomination.

PICKING A NEW LEADER

Early in 1919 the death of Theodore Roosevelt caused Republican party managers to canvass the field earnestly and eagerly in quest of a new leader who could at least to some extent take the place which he had so powerfully filled, and their attention was soon chiefly centered upon two men, General Leonard Wood and Senator Harding. The former had not been especially identified with either faction of the party, but had been one of the closest personal friends of Roosevelt.

Senator Harding had been identified with the "regular" or conservative wing of the party, making the speech renominating Taft in 1912 and of course vigorously opposing Roosevelt in that campaign. But in 1916 he had made the "keynote speech" at the national convention in which the reunion of the party had been effected, and since that time he had been on terms of both political and personal intimacy and confidence with Roosevelt, and had favored an enactment permitting him to lead an army division to France in the world war. He was therefore quite acceptable to the Progressive element of the party, while of course he commanded the confidence of the conservatives, and was thus looked upon as an especially fitting candidate to lead the reunited party to victory.

"FAVORITE SON" OF OHIO

In the late fall of 1919 the announcement was made by Harry M. Daugherty, a member of the Ohio Republican State Advisory Committee, that Harding would be put forward the next year as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, and a little later, at the middle of December, Harding publicly consented to the use of his name in the next year's primary elections.

He said that he did so merely in compliance with a numerously expressed wish; that he would announce no platform, leaving that to the convention; and that he would make no personal campaign, which would involve neglect of his Senatorial duties at a time when they were most pressing.

There was no doubt that he was the "favorite son" of Ohio, though General Wood had many friends and secured many votes at the primaries. The great majority of the delegates chosen to the convention were, however, pledged to Harding.

A LETTER ON LABOR AND LABOR UNIONS

Meantime Harding had been pursuing an independent and fearless course, without the slightest "fishing for votes." In January, 1920, writing to a friend a letter which was promptly made public, he challenged the possible opposition of the labor vote by speaking vigorously against domination of labor by the labor unions.

He paid a high tribute to organization and to trade unionism; "but," he said, "the advancement of unionism is one thing and the domination of organized labor is quite another. I subscribe to the first and oppose the latter. I do not believe in any class domination, and the long fight to remove the domination of capital, now

fairly won, is lost if labor domination is substituted in its stead."

He added that he favored the anti-strike section of the Esch-Cummins railroad bill, because it applied to a public service then under governmental regulation.

That section was not reactionary, he insisted, but actually a step forward, inasmuch as it provided a capable tribunal for the adjustment of all labor grievances, so that no interruption of transportation service need be apprehended.

"If," said he, "our boasted present day civilization cannot find a plan to avoid industrial conflicts in a public service under strict Governmental regulation, without resort to wasteful warfare and suffering, then our civilization is less advanced than we have boasted."

FOUR CANDIDATES FOR NOMINATION

When the Republican National Convention met at Chicago early in June, there were four prominent candidates for the nomination. These were General Leonard Wood, Governor Lowden of Illinois, Senator Hiram Johnson of California, and Senator Harding. In advance, and in the early hours of the convention, Harding had little expectation of winning, and preferred to seek renomination and reëlection to the Senate; but was persuaded by his friend, Mr. Daugherty, to remain in the race.

His name was presented to the convention by his friend Frank B. Willis, who had been a college professor, was then Governor of Ohio, and was destined to succeed Harding in the United States Senate.

"The record of Ohio's candidate," he said, "is the record of the Republican Party for the last decade. He

fought for an American merchant marine to carry our commerce under the American flag to all the ports of the earth, while other leaders were skeptical or quiescent; he helped bear the burden and heat of the day in the struggle for the rehabilitation of American industry. He is one of the common folks, best loved by those who know him best. With no working capital other than his own ability and his capacity for toil, he has built up a prosperous business, employing many men, and in his shop where he works side by side with his men there has never been an hour of labor trouble in twenty-five years of friendly coöperation. He is a stalwart fighting Republican, who believes in the efficacy of representative government under party sponsorship. His face is toward the future. He is not only a Progressive; he is a performing Progressive."

This was not mere talk "for Buncombe." It was a true characterization of the man, to which nobody could take exception, and was very different from the too common "point with pride" bombast of convention speeches. It set many delegates to thinking seriously of Senator Harding as a candidate.

THE FIRST BALLOT

The leading candidates on the first ballot were General Wood and Governor Lowden, and it is possible that one of them might have been successful on a subsequent ballot had it not been for the savage aspersions which were cast upon them, not by Republican rivals but by Democrats.

It was discovered that William C. Procter, of Cincinnati, an immensely wealthy business man and philanthropist, who had given great sums of money to Princeton

University and other institutions, had at great cost to himself issued a vast amount of informative literature in the interest of General Wood's campaign.

Of course there had been no thought of corrupt use of a single cent. But the cry was raised that it was a monstrous thing to spend so much money in a campaign, and that General Wood had—or his friends had—been trying to "purchase the nomination."

The charges and the whole outcry were absurd and insincere; but they served their purpose by restraining some timorous delegates from voting for General Wood. This was not that they believed that there was anything in the least discreditable in Mr. Procter's efforts in behalf of his friend, but that they feared that the public might take the matter seriously.

A somewhat similar attack was made upon Governor Lowden. It was discovered that some of his supporters had paid considerable sums of money to certain party leaders in Missouri, for campaign purposes. This had been done entirely without Lowden's knowledge, and there was no proof of the slightest impropriety in the use of the money. Nevertheless, coupled with the fact that Lowden was himself a man of considerable wealth, it caused some clamor against him and caused other fearful delegates to hesitate to give him their support.

On the first ballot Wood and Lowden were the leaders, though neither came near having a majority. Hiram Johnson stood third, and Harding fourth, with only 65½ ballots. That order was maintained with slight changes for ballot after ballot until the seventh, when some of Lowden's votes changed to Harding, giving him 105, and putting him in third place, ahead of Johnson, though still a long way behind the leaders.

THE DEADLOCK

By this time, however, he began to feel hopeful, if not confident, of winning. Wood and Lowden were deadlocked in the lead; neither could hope to get any votes away from the other. Johnson had a strong and constant support, which could not be drawn away from him for any other candidate. The only possible outcome seemed to be for delegates to break away from Wood and Lowden and to unite on some compromise candidate. And Harding knew that he had many friends in all the delegations, who would be glad to vote for him when the break came. He therefore began to think that his friendliness and fair-dealing were about to secure him the nomination. Others thought so, too. On the eighth ballot some more votes came to him, and he got 133½.

THE WINNING BALLOT

Then a conference of leaders was held in the hotel rooms of Colonel George Harvey. That eminent editor of the *North American Review* and of *Harvey's Weekly* was a close personal friend of Harding, as well as of various other candidates and leaders, and he had for some time been a sort of adviser in chief to the managers of the Republican party. The outcome of that conference was that on the ninth ballot a large part of Lowden's vote went to Harding, giving him 374½, and on the tenth he received 692, and was nominated; the nomination being immediately made unanimous.

Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, was promptly nominated for Vice-President, and the convention adjourned with a cheering consciousness of work well done.

Chapter XI

CHARTING THE WAY

THE SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE—FOR THE RESTORATION OF PEACE—SAFEGUARDING AMERICA—MAXIMUMS, NOT MINIMUMS, THE CALL OF AMERICA

ON July 22, 1920, Warren Gamaliel Harding was formally notified at Marion, Ohio, that he had been nominated for the Presidency by the Republican party. In his speech of acceptance he charted the way for his party, setting down in clear language the principles that should guide him and his co-workers should he become Chief Executive of the nation. Work, hard work; production and yet more production; these he saw necessary for rehabilitation after the strain of war. It was of America first he thought, then and after he went to the Presidency; but he believed in a great human brotherhood, in which the nations, while retaining their own nationality, would banish the thought of hate and adopt instead a spirit of international helpfulness. In that preliminary speech, part of which we reproduce, he charted a course from which he never swerved.

"With a Senate advising as the Constitution contemplates, I would hopefully approach the nations of Europe and of the earth, proposing that understanding which makes us a willing participant in the consecration of nations to a new relationship, to commit the moral forces of the world, America included, to peace and international justice, still leaving America free, independent and self-reliant, but offering friendship to all the world.

"If men call for more specific details, I remind them that moral committals are broad and all inclusive, and we are contemplating peoples in the concord of humanity's advancement. From our own view-point the program is specifically American, and we mean to be Americans first, to all the world.

THE STIMULUS OF COMPETITION

"More than all else the present-day world needs understanding. There can be no peace save through composed differences, and the submission of the individual to the will and weal of the many. Any other plan means anarchy and its rule of force.

"It must be understood that toil alone makes for accomplishment and advancement, and righteous possession is the reward of toil, and its incentive. There is no progress except in the stimulus of competition. When competition—natural, fair, impelling competition—is suppressed, whether by law, compact or conspiracy, we halt the march of progress, silence the voice of aspiration, and paralyze the will for achievement. These are but common-sense truths of human development.

"The chief trouble to-day is that the world war wrought the destruction of healthful competition, left our storehouses empty, and there is a minimum production when our need is maximum. Maximums, not minimums, is the call of America. It isn't a new story, because war never fails to leave depleted storehouses and always impairs the efficiency of production. War also establishes its higher standards for wages, and they abide. I wish the higher wage to abide, on one explicit condition—that the wage-earner will give full return for the wage received. It is the best assurance we can have

for a reduced cost of living. Mark you, I am ready to acclaim the highest standard of pay, but I would be blind to the responsibilities that mark this fateful hour if I did not caution the wage-earners of America that mounting wages and decreased production can lead only to industrial and economic ruin.

"I want, somehow, to appeal to the sons and daughters of the republic, to every producer, to join hand and brain in production, more production, honest production, patriotic production, because patriotic production is no less a defense of our best civilization than that of armed force. Profiteering is a crime of commission, underproduction is a crime of omission. We must work our most and best, else the destructive reaction will come. We must stabilize and strive for normalcy, else the inevitable reaction will bring its train of sufferings, disappointments and reversals. We want to forestall such reaction, we want to hold all advanced ground, and fortify it with general good-fortune.

"Let us return for a moment to the necessity for understanding, particularly that understanding which concerns ourselves at home. I decline to recognize any conflict of interest among the participants in industry. The destruction of one is the ruin of the other, the suspicion or rebellion of one unavoidably involves the other. In conflict is disaster, in understanding there is triumph. There is no issue relating to the foundation on which industry is builded, because industry is bigger than any element in its modern making. But the insistent call is for labor, management and capital to reach understanding.

"The human element comes first, and I want the employers in industry to understand the aspirations, the

convictions, the yearnings of the millions of American wage-earners, and I want the wage-earners to understand the problems, the anxieties, the obligations of management and capital, and all of them must understand their relationship to the people and their obligation to the republic. Out of this understanding will come the unanimous committal to economic justice, and in economic justice lies that social justice which is the highest essential to human happiness.

"I am speaking as one who has counted the contents of the pay envelope from the view-point of the earner as well as the employer. No one pretends to deny the inequalities which are manifest in modern industrial life. They are less in fact than they were before organization and grouping on either side revealed the inequalities, and conscience has wrought more justice than statutes have compelled, but the ferment of the world rivets our thoughts on the necessity of progressive solution, else our generation will suffer the experiment which means chaos for our day to reëstablish God's plan for the great to-morrow.

"Speaking our sympathies, uttering the conscience of all the people, mindful of our right to dwell amid the good fortunes of rational, conscience-impelled advancement, we hold the majesty of righteous government, with liberty under the law, to be our avoidance of chaos, and we call upon every citizen of the republic to hold fast to that which made us what we are, and we will have orderly government safeguard the onward march to all we ought to be.

"We call on all America for steadiness, so that we may proceed deliberately to the readjustment which concerns all the people. Our party platform fairly expresses

the conscience of Republicans on industrial relations. No party is indifferent to the welfare of the wage-earner. To us his good fortune is of deepest concern, and we seek to make that good fortune permanent. We do not oppose but approve collective bargaining, because that is an outstanding right, but we are unalterably insistent that its exercise must not destroy the equally sacred right of the individual, in his necessary pursuit of livelihood. Any American has the right to quit his employment, so has every American the right to seek employment. The group must not endanger the individual, and we must discourage groups preying upon one another, and none shall be allowed to forget that government's obligations are alike to all the people.

RAILROAD REHABILITATION

"I hope we may do more than merely discourage the losses and sufferings attending industrial conflict. The strike against the government is properly denied, for government service involves none of the elements of profit which relate to competitive enterprise. There is progress in the establishment of official revealment of issues and conditions which lead to conflict, so that unerring public sentiment may speed the adjustment, but I hope for that concord of purpose, not forced but inspired by the common weal, which will give a regulated public service the fullest guaranty of continuity. I am thinking of the railroads. In modern life they are the very base of all our activities and interchanges. For public protection we have enacted laws providing for a regulation of the charge for service, a limitation on the capital invested and a limitation on capital's earnings. There remains only competition of service on which to

base our hopes for an efficiency and expansion which meet our modern requirements. The railway workmen ought to be the best paid and know the best working conditions in the world. Theirs is an exceptional responsibility. They are not only essential to the life and health of all productive activities of the people, but they are directly responsible for the safety of traveling millions. The government which has assumed so much authority for the public good might well stamp railway employment with the sanctity of public service and guarantee to the railway employees that justice which voices the American conception of righteousness on the one hand, and assure continuity of service on the other.

"The importance of the railway rehabilitation is so obvious that reference seems uncalled for. We are so confident that much of the present-day insufficiency and inefficiency of transportation are due to the withering hand of government operation that we emphasize anew our opposition to government ownership, we want to expedite the reparation, and make sure the mistake is not repeated.

AGRICULTURE THE FOUNDATION OF OUR EXISTENCE

"The Republican party was founded by farmers, with the sensitive conscience born of their freedom and their simple lives. These founders sprang from the farms of the then Middle West. Our party has never failed in its realization that agriculture is essentially the foundation of our very existence, and it has ever been our policy, purpose and performance to protect and promote that essential industry.

"New conditions, which attend amazing growth and extraordinary industrial development, call for a new and

forward-looking program. The American farmer had a hundred and twenty millions to feed in the home market, and heard the cry of the world for food and answered it, though he faced an appalling task amid handicaps never encountered before.

"In the rise of price levels there have come increased appraisals to his acres without adding to their value in fact, but which do add to his taxes and expenses without enhancing his returns. His helpers have yielded to the lure of shop and city, until, almost alone, he has met and borne the burden of the only insistent attempts to force down prices. It challenges both the wisdom and the justice of artificial drives on prices to recall that they were effective almost solely against his products in the hands of the producer and never effective against the same products in passing to the consumer. Contemplating the defenselessness of the individual farmer to meet the organized buyers of his products and the distributors of the things the farmer buys, I hold that farmers should not only be permitted but encouraged to join in coöperative association to reap the just measure of reward merited by their arduous toil. Let us facilitate coöperation to insure against the risks attending agriculture, which the urban world so little understands, and a like coöperation to market their products as directly as possible with the consumer, in the interests of all. Upon such association and coöperation should be laid only such restrictions as will prevent arbitrary control of our food supply and the fixing of extortionate price upon it.

"Our platform is an earnest pledge of renewed concern for this most essential and elemental industry, and in both appreciation and interest we pledge effective

expression in law and practise. We will hail that coöperation which again will make profitable and desirable the ownership and operation of comparatively small farms intensively cultivated, and which will facilitate the caring for the products of farm and orchard without the lamentable waste under present conditions.

"America would look with anxiety on the discouragement of farming activity either through the government's neglect or its paralysis by socialistic practises. A Republican administration will be committed to renewed regard for agriculture, and seek the participation of farmers in curing the ills justly complained of, and aim to place the American farm where it ought to be—highly ranked in American activities and fully sharing the highest good fortunes of American life.

"Becomingly associated with this subject are the policies of irrigation and reclamation, so essential to agricultural expansion, and the continued development of the great and wonderful West. It is our purpose to continue and enlarge federal aid, not in sectional partiality, but for the good of all America. We hold to that harmony of relationship between conservation and development, which fittingly appraises our natural resources and makes them available to developing America of to-day, and still holds to the conserving thought for the America of to-morrow.

"The federal government's relation to reclamation and development is too important to admit of ample discussion to-day. Alaska, alone, is rich in resources beyond all imagination, and needs only closer linking, through the lines of transportation and a governmental policy that both safeguards and encourages development, to speed it to a foremost position as a commonwealth, rugged in citizenship and rich in materialized resources.

"I believe in law enforcement. If elected I mean to be a constitutional president, and it is impossible to ignore the Constitution, unthinkable to evade the law, when our very committal is to orderly government. People ever will differ about the wisdom of the enactment of a law—there is divided opinion respecting the eighteenth amendment and the laws enacted to make it operative—but there can be no difference of opinion about honest law enforcement.

"Neither government nor party can afford to cheat the American people. The laws of Congress must harmonize with the Constitution, else they soon are adjudged to be void; Congress enacts the laws, and the executive branch of government is charged with enforcement. We can not nullify because of divided opinion, we can not jeopardize orderly government with contempt for law enforcement. Modification or repeal is the right of a free people, whenever the deliberate and intelligent public sentiment commands, but perversion and evasion mark the paths to the failure of government itself.

THE MEN WHO RALLIED TO THE COLORS

"Though not in any partisan sense, I must speak of the services of the men and women who rallied to the colors of the republic in the world war. America realizes and appreciates the services rendered, the sacrifices made and the sufferings endured. There shall be no distinction between those who knew the perils and glories of the battle front or the dangers of the sea, and those who were compelled to serve behind the lines, or those who constituted the great reserve of a grand army which awaited the call in camps at home.

"All were brave, all were sacrificing, all were sharers

of those ideals which sent our boys thrice-armed to war. Worthy sons and daughters, these, fit successors to those who christened our banners in the immortal beginning, worthy sons of those who saved the Union and nationality when civil war wiped the ambiguity from the Constitution, ready sons of those who drew the sword for humanity's sake the first time in the world, in 1898.

"The four million defenders on land and sea were worthy of the best traditions of a people never war-like in peace and never pacifist in war. They commanded our pride, they have our gratitude, which must have genuine expression. It is not only a duty, it is a privilege to see that the sacrifices made shall be requited, and that those still suffering from casualties and disabilities shall be abundantly aided and restored to the highest capabilities of citizenship and its enjoyment.

WOMANHOOD THE GLORY OF AMERICA

"The womanhood of America, always its glory, its inspiration and the potent, uplifting force in its social and spiritual development, is about to be enfranchised. In so far as Congress can go, the fact is already accomplished. By party edict, by my recorded vote, by personal conviction I am committed to this measure of justice. It is my earnest hope, my sincere desire that the one needed state vote be quickly recorded in the affirmation of the right of equal suffrage and that the vote of every citizen shall be cast and counted in the approaching election.

"Let us not share the apprehensions of many men and women as to the danger of this momentous extension of the franchise. Women have never been without influence in our political life. Enfranchisement will bring

to the polls the votes of citizens who have been born upon our soil, or who have sought in faith and assurance the freedom and opportunities of our land. It will bring the women educated in our schools, trained in our customs and habits of thought, and sharers of our problems. It will bring the alert mind, the awakened conscience, the sure intuition, the abhorrence of tyranny or oppression, the wide and tender sympathy that distinguish the women of America. Surely there can be no danger there.

"And to the great number of noble women who have opposed in conviction the tremendous change in the ancient relation of the sexes as applied to government, I venture to plead that they will accept the full responsibility of enlarged citizenship and give to the best in the republic their suffrage and support.

"Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my countrymen all: I would not be my natural self if I did not utter my consciousness of my limited ability to meet your full expectations, or to realize the aspirations within my own breast, but I will gladly give all that is in me, all of heart, soul and mind and abiding love of country, to service in our common cause. I can only pray to the omnipotent God that I may be as worthy in service as I know myself to be faithful in thought and purpose. One can not give more. Mindful of the vast responsibilities I must be frankly humble, but I have that confidence in the consideration and support of all true Americans which makes me wholly unafraid. With an unalterable faith and in a hopeful spirit, with a hymn of service in my heart, I pledge fidelity to our country and to God, and accept the nomination of the Republican party for the presidency of the United States."

Chapter XII

THE FRONT PORCH

THE CAMPAIGN CONDUCTED FROM THE PORCH OF THE HARDING HOME—MARION THE MECCA FOR REPUBLICANS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY—THE SMALL TOWN BECOMES THE BIGGEST PLACE ON THE MAP—THE SENATOR CONFRONTED BY GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES—PRESIDENT ELECT—THE TRYING INTERVAL BETWEEN ELECTION AND INAUGURATION

IT is characteristic of the unostentatiousness of Warren G. Harding that when the call came to him to become the standard bearer of the party, he chose for his rostrum his own front porch. There he addressed delegations who came from near and far, and the small town of Marion, Ohio, became famous overnight.

He somehow got nearer to the soul of the American people in these heart-to-heart talks than if he had "stumped the country" with brass bands and red fire and all the accessories that are popularly supposed to carry weight. At any rate, it was the Harding way. He regarded the one hundred million Americans as neighbors and talked to them without formality.

SOMETHING NEW IN CAMPAIGNING

It was something new in campaigning and it got the attention of the populace.

He advocated, he pleaded, but he never dictated. Tranquillity, dependability, stability—all these he saw

in party-sponsorship, and his whole purpose in his front-porch talks, as in later days, was to renew the assurances which were rended in the cataclysmal war.

It was on his porch at Marion that he gave voice to his approval of a cabinet of highest capacity, equal to the responsibilities which our system contemplates, in whose counsels the Vice-President, second official of the Republic, should be asked to participate.

One wonders if he had a prevision of how wisely he spoke. Certainly he could not have guessed that within little more than three years he would be called from the stage of life, to relinquish his rôle as President to Calvin Coolidge who had done the very thing Warren Harding had advocated in his speech of acceptance on his front porch on July 22, 1920: "taken part in the counsels of the cabinet"—the first Vice-President to add this important task to his other duties.

TO SEEK ADVICE FROM THE "BEST MINDS"

Senator Harding accepted his nomination at first with his usual air of happy fatalism. On the train returning from Chicago to Washington he seemed the least concerned of the passengers. When he moved it was with his old, accustomed quiet air; when he sat, he lolled; when he talked, he chatted.

But in a little while there grew upon him realization of what was in store for him. And soon, when he was back in Marion and in the midst of the realities of his campaign and of his preliminary Presidential plannings, people were able to see that he had been moved very deeply. No public man of our time, confronted by great responsibilities, has fallen back so simply and yearningly on his early religious faith as Senator Harding. His

utterances repeatedly showed profound humility and appeal.

When the time came to face the country he said frankly that he was not a great man. He proposed to seek advice from the "best minds" without respect to party. His own attribute that he relied upon principally was his power of conciliation, the fruit of his graciousness and gregariousness. He believed that he could do good work in bringing together the minds that had been torn asunder in the controversies of the latter days of the Wilson administration, and that out of the harmony of those minds would come a sound policy for the country. He believed also, that he could restore harmony between the executive and the legislative departments of the country.

On specific controverted issues, as to which his party had no clear position, he uttered no dictatorial words; he preferred to speak with the party, rather than for the party. Senator Johnson and Senator Borah said the Republican party stood outright against the League of Nations; Elihu Root, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Taft, and others of the party's intellectuals, said it stood for the League of Nations with reservations. In his pre-election speeches Mr. Harding took no definite stand on controversial issues. He hoped for unity within his party, and was determined to be as conciliatory as possible. Toward the latter part of the campaign, in his Des Moines speech, he seemed to turn his back on the League and to side definitely with Mr. Borah and Mr. Johnson, but he still was for an "association of nations." On such issues as the tariff, he took the traditional position of his party.

But his doubts and hesitancies did him no injury in the campaign. Perhaps they actually helped him.

The country at that time was in the flood of the anti-Wilson sentiment. The picture Mr. Harding made fitted exactly into the mood of a people who desired a change from the Wilson régime which had been more or less autocratic. Gov. James M. Cox, of Ohio, nominated by the Democrats, failed utterly to strike fire from the political flint of the times. And Mr. Harding rode into office in triumph.

MORROW COUNTY REJOICES

Warren G. Harding was born in Morrow County, Ohio; and when the news of his nomination was received in his native county there was great rejoicing, renewed a thousandfold when the returns of the election were received in the November following.

The Morrow County *Sentinel* rejoiced in the nomination and felicitated the county in the following editorial:

"The proudest moment in Morrow County's history has come. A native son has been selected as the candidate of a great party for the highest office within the gift of the people. Forty years ago in a generation which has passed, Warren G. Harding read for the first time the doctrine of Republicanism in the *Sentinel's* columns. A President from Morrow County! Why not? Surely the community which gave to the church a Gunsaulus, to the bar and bench a Gurley and an Olds, could produce a President.

"Warren G. Harding's boyhood was not materially different from that of other boys of the community. He simply made the most of his limited opportunities. He worked, obtained an education, and his life has demonstrated his superior industry, capacity, intelligence, and leadership. Harding is worthy. He is just plain folks."

"Just plain folks"—a homely expression, but it epitomized the President-to-be and summed up that human quality which made him one of the best loved men ever called to preside over the destinies of the nation.

THE EUROPEAN VIEW OF THE NOMINEE

When the nomination of Harding became known in Europe there was divided opinion as to what the future would bring. Some thought that since Warren G. Harding had been a Senator the United States would consequently be ruled by the Senate if the Republican candidate was elected; others derided this opinion, and the Paris *Eclair* said: "Harding is neither a radical nor a liberal; he symbolizes the center of gravity."

To some Englishmen Mr. Harding represented in the United States very much what the coalition Liberals represented in Great Britain. They classed him as a middle-of-the-road Republican, and one paper, the Yorkshire *Post*, declared that "there is a better prospect of helpful European policy than we could have looked for had the choice of the delegates of Chicago fallen on a politician holding the opinions on the subject with which Hiram Johnson is credited." The *Daily Express* of London spoke prophetically when it said that "friendly relations with Great Britain will undoubtedly be part of Mr. Harding's policy." The German press naturally desired someone who would aid them in the post-war days, and as Warren Harding had given no indication of interfering in defense of the Germans their comments were, to say the least of it, not enthusiastic, though the Berlin *Tageblatt* did venture to affirm that "the compromise between Senator Lodge and Senator Johnson is favorable to Germany."

But the truth was that Warren G. Harding, nominee of the Republican party, was far more concerned about the American people than about the Franco-German dispute in Europe. He preached the gospel of "normalcy," a return to normal conditions, an end to strife, and a fresh beginning on the common duties of life. These were the things he emphasized in his talks from his front porch, and delegation after delegation went away inspired with a new zeal for life and a new joy in American institutions.

THE PRESIDENT ELECT

Harding stock continued to rise, and when election day came there was no mistaking the popularity of the man from Marion—a popularity which was shared by Calvin Coolidge, his running mate, the Governor of Massachusetts, who was elected Vice-President.

The popular vote for Harding was 16,152,200; the vote for the Democratic candidate, James M. Cox, 9,147,353. The Socialists gave some 900,000 votes for their candidate, and the Farmer-Labor party over 260,000 for theirs. The electoral vote for Harding and Coolidge was 404.

THE TRYING INTERVAL BETWEEN ELECTION AND INAUGURATION

In the months intervening between his election and his inauguration Mr. Harding refrained sedulously from any act or utterance that might have been the cause of hostility or friction. The Congress was Republican, and probably would have been responsive to any of his suggestions, but he remained in the background and let his colleagues "carry on" without any suggestions from

him. It was a typical illustration of his unerring instinct of good taste and judgment.

Before the end of election week he had effaced himself completely from the political stage. He started on a vacation trip to the South, a trip that was to embrace a stay on the southern Texas coast, and thereafter a sea trip to Panama, returning by way of Hampton Roads and Washington. It was a real vacation, and he entered into the spirit of it with the enthusiasm of a boy. But it became also an inspiration not only to the newly elected President but to the peoples of Panama and the home country.

It can be asserted without hesitation that through the rather trying interval between election and inauguration Mr. Harding grew steadily in the confidence of the country. He resigned his seat in the Senate early in January, and the new Governor of Ohio appointed Mr. Willis to fill the vacancy. Except for the trip to Texas and Panama, President-elect Harding remained at his home for a number of weeks after his election, where he was visited by a large number of individuals, from time to time, with whom he discussed politics in an intimate, informal way.

NEIGHBORLINESS AMONG THE NATIONS

As President elect, Mr. Harding repeatedly expressed the wish to be useful in bringing about the best of relations and understanding between the United States and all the other countries of this hemisphere. He was deeply interested, during his stay in Panama, in the manifold evidence that our interests there constitute an invaluable outpost from which to project a policy of closer intimacy and more fundamental coöperation.

Chapter XIII

"BACK TO NORMALCY"

THE FRONT PORCH AT THE CAPITAL—THE SIMPLEST AND MOST IMPRESSIVE INAUGURAL CEREMONY SINCE THE EARLY DAYS OF THE REPUBLIC—THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—THE RESUMPTION OF THE NORMAL WAY—UNITY OF PURPOSE—SERVICE THE SUPREME COMMITMENT

DESCRIBED as "the simplest in modern times," the inauguration of Warren Gamaliel Harding as President of the United States on March 4, 1921, was characteristic of the modesty of "the man from Main Street." The front porch at Marion, Ohio, had become famous in the campaign, and in accordance with the wishes of the President elect a small portico, resembling the front porch, was set up on the east steps of the Capitol; and there he took the oath of office in the presence of a vast gathering.

The front porch symbolized the normal life of America outside the great cities, and it was a touch that made a direct appeal throughout the land. There was no inaugural ball, no parade, no brilliant festivities. As Mr. Harding himself said, he wanted to get through the formal ceremonies quickly and without any fuss, so that he might "get his coat off and get to work."

NOT A TIME FOR DISPLAY

No one realized more than he that it was not a time for elaborate display; it was a time for work. In the

disastrous state of the world, with millions dying of starvation and millions more in dire poverty; with peace on the earth still far off, even sixteen months after the fighting ended in the World War; with so many pressing problems confronting the people of our own country and its new leader—nothing could have given a more striking example of the fine judgment and earnestness of Mr. Harding than the restraint from all extravagance and pomp.

AN EXAMPLE TO BE COPIED

His inaugural speech was not addressed to the peoples of the world; it was rather an intimate talk with the home folks who had elected him Chief Executive. As the Paris *Figaro* said at the time, "Most of the new President's address was a declaration of faith in God and a hymn to the greatness and wisdom of America."

Harding could do no other. To him America stood for the finest things achieved by mankind, and he would have all mankind emulate. None the less, he sympathized with the plight of Europe, and he believed the Europeans capable of setting their own house in order.

It may be said that he had no desire that America should use the "big stick," but rather that the standard of fair dealing and love of peace which it had set up, and which had permitted it to remain on terms of the utmost good-fellowship with the neighboring Dominion of Canada for a century, might be an example which would be copied by the nations of Europe.

Instead of the League of Nations, which to him exemplified force, he would have set up an association of nations, banded together for mutual good will, and distinct from any treaty of peace.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

In his inaugural address he pleaded for normalcy, unity, and service:

"Our supreme task is the resumption of our onward, normal way. Reconstruction, readjustment, restoration —all these must follow. I would like to hasten them. If it will lighten the spirit and add to the resolution with which we take up the task, let me repeat for our Nation, we shall give no people just cause to make war upon us; we hold no national prejudices; we entertain no spirit of revenge; we do not hate; we do not covet; we dream of no conquest nor boast of armed prowess. If, despite this attitude, war is again forced upon us, I earnestly hope a way may be found which will unify our individual and collective strength and consecrate all America, materially and spiritually, body and soul, to national defense. I can vision the ideal republic, where every man and woman is called under the flag for assignment to duty for whatever service, military or civic, the individual is best fitted; where we may call to universal service every plant, agency, or facility, all in the sublime sacrifice for country, and not one penny of war profit shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation, or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the Nation. There is something inherently wrong, something out of accord with the ideals of representative democracy, when one portion of our citizenship turns its activities to private gain amid defensive war while another is fighting, sacrificing, or dying for national preservation.

UNITY OF SPIRIT AND PURPOSE

"Out of such universal service will come a new unity of spirit and purpose, a new confidence and consecration,

which would make our defense impregnable, our triumph assured. Then we should have little or no disorganization of our economic, industrial and commercial systems at home, no staggering war debts, no swollen fortunes to flout the sacrifices of our soldiers, no excuse for sedition, no pitiable slackerism, no outrage of treason. Envy and jealousy would have no soil for their menacing development, and revolution would be without the passion which engenders it. A regret for the mistakes of yesterday must not, however, blind us to the tasks of to-day. War never left such an aftermath. There has been staggering loss of life and measureless wastage of materials. Nations are still groping for return to stable ways. Discouraging indebtedness confronts us like all the war-torn nations, and these obligations must be provided for. No civilization can survive repudiation.

"We can reduce the abnormal expenditures, and we will. We can strike at war taxation and we must. We must face the grim necessity, with full knowledge that the task is to be solved, and we must proceed with a full realization that no statute enacted by man can repeal the inexorable laws of nature. Our most dangerous tendency is to expect too much of government, and at the same time do for it too little. We contemplate the immediate task of putting our public household in order. We need a rigid and yet sane economy, combined with fiscal justice, and it must be attended by individual prudence and thrift, which are so essential to this trying hour and reassuring for the future.

REFLECTION OF WAR'S REACTION

"The business world reflects the disturbance of war's reaction. Herein flows the lifeblood of material existence.

The economic mechanism is intricate and its parts interdependent, and has suffered the shocks and jars incident to abnormal demands, credit inflations, and price upheavals. The normal balance has been impaired, the channels of distribution have been clogged, the relations of labor and management have been strained. We must seek the readjustment with care and courage. Our people must give and take. Prices must reflect the receding fever of war activities. Perhaps we never shall know the old level of wage again, because war invariably readjusts compensations, and the necessaries of life will show their inseparable relationship; but we must strive for normalcy to reach stability. All the penalties will not be light nor evenly distributed. There is no way of making them so. There is no instant step from disorder to order. We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses and start afresh. It is the oldest lesson of civilization. I would like government to do all it can to mitigate; then, in understanding, in mutuality of interest, in concern for the common good, our tasks will be solved. No altered system will work a miracle. Any wild experiment will only add to the confusion. Our best assurance lies in efficient administration of our proven system.

FROM DESTRUCTION TO PRODUCTION

"The forward course of the business cycle is unmistakable. Peoples are turning from destruction to production. Industry has sensed the changed order and our own people are turning to resume their normal, onward way. The call is for productive America to go on. I know that Congress and the Administration will favor every wise Government policy to aid the resumption and encourage continued progress. I speak for administrative

efficiency, for lightened tax burdens, for sound commercial practices, for adequate credit facilities, for sympathetic concern for all agricultural problems, for the omission of unnecessary interference of Government with business, for an end to Government's experiment in business, and for more efficient business in Government administration. With all of this must attend a mindfulness of the human side of all activities, so that social, industrial and economic justice will be squared with the purposes of a righteous people. With the nation-wide induction of womanhood into our political life, we may count upon her intuition, her refinement, her intelligence, and her influence to exalt the social order. We count upon her exercise of the full privileges and the performance of the duties of citizenship to speed the attainment of the highest state.

PRAYER FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

"I wish for an America no less alert in guarding against dangers from within than it is watchful against enemies from without. Our fundamental law recognizes no class, no group, no section; there must be none in legislation or administration. The supreme inspiration is the common weal. Humanity hungers for international peace, and we crave it with all mankind. My most reverent prayer for America is for industrial peace, with its rewards, widely and generally distributed, amid the inspirations of equal opportunity.

AN AMERICA OF HOMES

"We would not have an America living within and for herself alone, but we would have her self-reliant, independent, and ever nobler, stronger, and richer. Believing in our higher standards, reared through con-

stitutional liberty and maintained opportunity, we invite the world to the same heights. But pride in things wrought is no reflex of a completed task. Common welfare is the goal of our national endeavor. Wealth is not inimical to welfare; it ought to be its friendliest agency. There never can be equality of rewards or possessions so long as the human plan contains varied talents and differing degrees of industry and thrift; but ours ought to be a country free from great blotches of distressed poverty. We ought to find a way to guard against the perils and penalties of unemployment. We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness, where mothers, freed from the necessity for long hours of toil beyond their own doors, may preside as befits the hearthstone of American citizenship. We want the cradle of American childhood rocked under conditions so wholesome and so hopeful that no blight may touch it in its development, and we want to provide that no selfish interest, no material necessity, no lack of opportunity shall prevent the gaining of that education so essential to best citizenship.

"There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed again and again the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders. But we are mindful to-day as never before of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.

"Service is the supreme commitment of life. I would rejoice to acclaim the era of the Golden Rule and crown it with the autocracy of service. I pledge an

Administration wherein all the agencies of Government are called to serve, and ever promote an understanding of Government purely as an expression of the popular will. One cannot stand in this presence and be unmindful of the tremendous responsibility. The world upheaval has added heavily to our tasks. But with the realization comes the surge of high resolve, and there is reassurance in belief in the God-given destiny of our Republic. If I felt that there is to be sole responsibility in the Executive for the America of to-morrow I should shrink from the burden. But here are a hundred millions, with common concern and shared responsibility, answerable to God and country. The Republic summons them to their duty, and I invite coöperation."

Chapter XIV

TWENTY-NINTH PRESIDENT

THE MAN FROM MARION REPUTED COMPLACENT IS DISCOVERED TO BE MASTERFUL—A CABINET OF CELEBRITIES—ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HARDING ADMINISTRATION—THE FATE WHICH MOULDS MEN'S LIVES —WHY REAR ADMIRAL GRAYSON WAS KEPT IN WASHINGTON

WHEN Warren Gamaliel Harding took office as twenty-ninth President of the United States he inherited from the passing administration a legacy of work that was all the greater for the sad fact of Mr. Wilson's protracted invalidism. Never did a President come to the tremendous office with so much unfinished business and so many fresh problems of moment awaiting his mind and hand.

It was an hour in American history when the guiding counsel of a man of sound, sober qualities was absolutely needed. The country turned to him instinctively as the man who must take the lead and the chief responsibility for the policies and programs of the American nation. His victory had been so overwhelming that there could be no doubt of his position and authority. The Republican sweep in the Congressional election had been as impressive as in the Electoral College. As one writer graphically said at the time: "The country had not only designated him for the huge task of the next four years, but had handed him all the instrumentalities with which to work."

He was a straight party man and was expected to cling to the traditional policies of his own party and to rule through the instrumentalities of that party, but on the other hand he made it very plain by his expressions both during and after the campaign, that he intended to be a President of the whole country, for the benefit of all its people, and not primarily a party President seeking party advantage first. It was his wish to bring the Republican party to complete unity and harmony, to wipe out all traces of factionalism and make his administration a conciliating, harmonizing force.

A BORN CONCILIATOR

Not many times in our history did a President come to his task with so great a fund of popular good will and so nearly a universal wish for his success; and when he died the sorrow of the nation was profound. He was a man who believed in sweet reasonableness and sought thus to smooth out conditions and remove asperities. He was a born conciliator but he never stooped to compromise. Advice and counsel he welcomed. He was always ready to confer, to weigh arguments and considerations; but once his mind was fixed, he went ahead on the course that had finally commended itself to him. Once committed to a particular course, he was completely committed; he put all his force and earnestness into his advocacy and sought to win others by effective arguments to agree with him.

He came into office at a time when the nation was still technically at war with Germany, although the fighting had stopped in November, 1918. He came at a time when the country was relaxing after the terrific war strain. How to return to the normal conditions of

1914 was his constant thought. An immediate peace treaty with Germany, economy in government affairs, and the thoughts of the people directed toward business production rather than war and destruction—these were the things that he believed would lead "back to normalcy."

THE CABINET

Within an hour after his inauguration President Harding appeared before the executive session of the Senate and announced the selections he had made for his Cabinet. He chose for secretary of state Charles E. Hughes, of New York, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court and Republican nominee for President in 1916. For secretary of commerce he chose Herbert Clark Hoover, of California, United States Food Commissioner from 1917 to 1919, whose exceptional public service had made him known both at home and abroad. For secretary of the treasury he selected Andrew W. Mellon, of Pennsylvania, a banker and developer of coal and iron industries. For postmaster-general he chose Will H. Hays, of Indiana, chairman of the National Republican Committee; for secretary of agriculture, Henry Cantwell Wallace, of Iowa, an agricultural editor; for secretary of the interior, Senator Albert Bacon Fall, of New Mexico; for secretary of labor, James John Davis, of Pennsylvania, director-general of the Loyal Order of Moose; for secretary of war, Senator John Wingate Weeks, of Massachusetts; for secretary of the navy, Edwin Denby, of Michigan, who participated in the service of the navy during the war; and for attorney-general, his personal friend Harry M. Daugherty, of Ohio. Vice-President Coolidge, on the invitation of

the President, became an ex-officio member of the Cabinet and took part in its counsels.

THE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

The Congress which was elected with President Harding in the Republican sweep of November, 1920, did not enter upon its first regular session until the first Monday of December, 1921, some thirteen months after its election. This was in accordance with the Constitution. The preceding Congress officially finished its work on March 4, 1921, when Warren G. Harding was inaugurated President of the United States.

But the new Congress—the Sixty-seventh—was called into extraordinary session by the President on April 11, 1921. In his message to Congress on the following day the President outlined a number of matters of the utmost importance which the legislators would be asked to consider. Chief of these were the necessity of economy in government expenditures; the adoption of an improved method of dealing with expenditures, a method that looks at the government's business as a whole, and that is known as a budget system; a revised measure of federal taxation; the abolition of the excess profits tax; an emergency tariff measure, to be succeeded later by a more definite revision; the protection of agricultural interests, and various other topics, including the recommendation that Congress should conclude peace with Germany and Austria by resolution.

THE PATH TO PEACE

To establish without delay "a state of technical peace" with Germany by "a declaratory resolution of Congress"; to divorce the Covenant of the League of

Nations from the Treaty of Versailles; to reject the Covenant utterly and completely, but to ratify the Treaty "with such explicit reservations and modifications as would secure our absolute freedom from inadvisable commitments and safeguard all our essential interests"; and to retain nevertheless "our hope and aim for an association to promote peace in which we would most heartily join"—this was the path to peace as outlined by President Harding.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HARDING ADMINISTRATION —INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Almost immediately Congress took up the question of peace with Germany and passed a resolution declaring the war at an end, but expressly reserving to the United States and its citizens whatever rights or advantages which had been accorded to them by the armistice, by the Treaty of Versailles, or as a result of the war. This resolution received the President's signature on July 2, 1921. A treaty with Germany followed, and this was signed by American and German representatives in Berlin August 25th. Similar action was taken regarding Austria.

With the formal ending of the state of war President Harding began his plans for the great conference on the limitation of armaments, which convened at Washington in the November following, and of which more anon.

Among other international matters which awaited action by the President was the pending treaty with Colombia, which had been presented to the Senate in the Wilson administration, but not ratified. A new treaty, following along similar lines, but omitting the expression of regret at anything that could have lessened the cor-

dial relations between the two countries, was negotiated and ratified by the Senate on April 21, 1921. By its terms Colombia is to receive $25,000,000 as compensation for the loss of territorial sovereignty over Panama and the Canal Zone.

So far as the Franco-German dispute was concerned the President adopted a hands-off policy, and when at the beginning of 1923 France marched into the Ruhr district of Germany he withdrew the American troops on the Rhine.

He did not press the Allies for payment of war debts, but Great Britain courageously faced the issue and sent to Washington a commission, headed by Stanley Baldwin, who later became prime minister, to offer a settlement of the debt, which amounted to more than four and a half billions of dollars. An agreement was happily reached. The whole debt of England was funded and made payable over a period of more than a half-century, with stipulated payment at intervals.

While negotiations for such large sums of money, involving also international amity, were necessarily delicate, President Harding's influence unquestionably did much to facilitate the parleys and bring about a settlement, which he himself hailed as one of great benefit to both nations. It was a great factor, too, in enabling the Government to adjust its own finances.

A debt settlement with Finland was virtually concluded, negotiations with Czechoslovakia were pending, and prospective discussions with Jugo-Slavia were on the schedule.

Important achievements also were brought about in connection with rights of Americans in mandated territories, as, for example, the conclusion of a treaty

with Japan, securing American rights to all Pacific islands north of the Equator over which Japan exercises its mandate. Similar treaties were made with France and Belgium, and negotiations with Great Britain were in progress relating to the British mandated territories in Africa.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Turning to domestic affairs, perhaps the most outstanding achievement of the Harding administration was the institution of the Budget System. The President chose Charles G. Dawes to be Budget Director and gave him the full support and authority necessary. That started the system auspiciously. With the resignation of Mr. Dawes after the foundational work was done, the President appointed General Herbert M. Lord to be Budget Director, and supported him loyally and effectively. The result unquestionably was far-reaching improvement in routine fiscal administration and very substantial economies. There can be no discount of the credit to which the President was entitled for his work in establishing the Budget System.

Characterized as "the greatest reform in our financial history," the Budget Bureau was the means of cutting down government expenses in three years from a six-billion-dollar to a three-billion-dollar basis. At the end of 1922 Secretary of the Treasury Mellon was able to announce that it would be possible to balance the budget for the fiscal year 1922 and to close the year with a surplus, amounting to about $321,000,000.

Revision of the Underwood-Simmons tariff was promised by the Republicans in 1920, and the Fordney-McCumber act was enacted after a long fight. The

administration went far with the "agricultural bloc" to give the farmers more elastic credits, but did not meet the demand for lower freight rates and higher prices in the markets. The coal strike was settled largely on the terms of the miners; one result of the strike was the appointment of the President's Fact-Finding Commission, which undertook the first official survey of the underlying facts in the industry.

Although vetoing the Soldiers' Bonus Bill, the President sought at every turn to provide adequate hospitalization and vocational training and monetary compensation for the wounded and convalescent soldiers, sailors, and marines. He brought about unification of all soldier relief in the Veterans' Bureau. The appropriation for this bureau was the largest single item in the budget estimates, being $422,000,000 for 1923 and $440,000,000 for 1924.

The President vetoed the Bursum Pension Bill, which was popular in many quarters, but declared unsound as a governmental principle. With respect to prohibition enforcement the administration tried to give effect to the letter of the Volstead statute. President Harding repeatedly called disrespect for the law a national scandal and appealed to the law-abiding elements of the nation for obedience.

The vision of a great American merchant marine was ever before the President. He wanted to put the American flag on the seas, and he believed the only way in which this could be done was by a subsidy. He began his fight for the Ship Subsidy on February 28, 1922. The House passed the bill, but the Senate killed it without permitting it to reach a vote.

Some of the achievements and problems of the

Harding administration are dealt with in detail in other chapters of this book. The foregoing summary gives but a slight conception of the enormity of the task of the President. Mr. Harding threw himself into the work with unrestrained vigor. He had seen one President break down under the terrific strain, but it did not daunt him. He counted not the cost of bodily vigor. He gave his best to his country without restraint and died a martyr to duty.

THE FATE WHICH MOULDS MEN'S LIVES

On that 4th day of March in the year 1921, as President Harding stepped into office, full of vigor and strength, ex-President Wilson returned to private life, feeble and broken in health. Less than two and a half years later—such are the mysteries of Fate—ex-President Wilson was sending a letter of condolence to Mrs. Harding on the death of the President whose powerful constitution and apparently robust health had been the subject of many congratulatory themes.

At the inaugural ceremonies at the Capitol, Warren Harding actually helped lift Woodrow Wilson down the steps of the White House portico and into the carriage. No one of the thousands who saw the robust figure beside the waxen, drawn, and stooped man beside him ever dreamed that the latter would be living to write a message of condolence on the death of the former. But the fate which moulds men's lives brought a fair measure of returning health to one and exhaustion and death to the other.

Mr. Harding's gentle consideration of his stricken predecessor on that notable day excited the admiration of thousands who saw it and won the warm respect of

Photo by Pacific & Atlantic Photos, Inc.

PRESIDENT HARDING TURNS FARMER

Mr. Harding had a marvelous knack of getting close to the hearts of people and understanding their problems. He did most things well and easily as is well illustrated by his taking command of a tractor at Hutchinson, Kansas, and making a complete round of a forty-acre field

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WITH THE BOY SCOUTS AT BUTTE

During a visit to the famous copper mines at Butte, Montana, the President decorated a number of Boy Scouts for bravery. Such was the simple nature and whole-hearted geniality of Mr. Harding that he was an especial favorite with boys and girls

Mr. Wilson himself. When the crowd along Pennsylvania Avenue cheered and applauded the healthy and robust incoming President, he silenced them with a deprecating gesture, signifying consideration and sympathy for the stricken, almost pathetic, figure beside him. At the Capitol during the inaugural ceremonies his considerate attention to the outgoing President was most marked, and it did not stop there; it took practical form.

WHY REAR ADMIRAL GRAYSON WAS KEPT IN WASHINGTON

Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson had been President Wilson's physician for eight years, as he had been physician to Presidents Taft and Roosevelt before him. He knew Mr. Wilson's case as probably no other physician could. Mr. Harding brought Dr. Sawyer, his own physician of years' acquaintance, who knew equally well the complicated and long-standing illness of Mrs. Harding. Dr. Grayson's White House detail ended, and he was subject to assignment elsewhere.

But without a request or suggestion from anybody and without anyone knowing of it, President Harding personally gave an order to the Navy Department that Dr. Grayson was to be assigned to duty in Washington, where his services would be available to Mr. Wilson, and in no circumstances was he to be ordered elsewhere without the President's consent.

It was an example of the thoughtfulness for others which distinguished Mr. Harding throughout his whole career.

Chapter XV

AT WORK AND PLAY

BURNING THE MIDNIGHT OIL—THE "GOLF CABINET"—THE WARREN G. HARDING TROPHY—THE LURE OF THE BALL FIELD—FRIEND OF REPORTERS AND CAMERA MEN—STOGIES AND MOTOR CARS—SHRINER AND TALL CEDAR

THE boy who sets out to be President and achieves his object must be prepared for a mental and physical strain that has become almost too much for the human frame to stand. It has been called "the hardest job in the world," and within the last ten years the task has been more than doubled. International as well as national problems confront the Chief Executive. Groups within groups battle for his favor. He must be all things to all men. East is East, and West is West, but the twain must meet in the Presidency. The immediate problems of the South and the Far West, as well as those of the East and the Middle West clamor for his attention.

Office seekers and the public crowd in upon his spare moments; and the President of the United States, who has been called the "galley slave of the nation," must bend under the lash and keep plodding on.

Readjustment and a return to "normalcy" was President Harding's program—a program of colossal magnitude, demanding long hours and the burning of the midnight oil.

But with it all, the President found time for play.

He was an enthusiastic spectator at all manner of sports when pressure of business at the White House did not keep him away. Motoring, golfing, fishing, watching a ball game—these were his recreations. He was perhaps best known as a golf enthusiast.

THE "GOLF CABINET"

It was jokingly remarked that he had selected a "golf Cabinet" supplementary to his official Cabinet. He frequently played at the Chevy Chase Club, at Washington, with a group including Speaker Gillett, of the House, and Senators Hale, Hitchcock, Kellogg, and Edge. Former Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey was his most intimate partner of the links.

When the President managed to keep his score in the nineties he was enthusiastic, although 101 was an average for his game. In 1922 when playing in the Washington Newspaper Golf Association tourney Harding, with a handicap of 22, turned out a net score of 69. He would have been low net had he not become "fussed" on the eighteenth green. A battery of motion-picture men took his mind from the game and caused him to miss a stroke which lost the match.

Under-Secretary of State Fletcher and Senator Kellogg of Minnesota scored so many triumphs over Harding on the links that he induced Charles "Chick" Evans, amateur champion of the United States in 1921, to become his partner and administered a crushing defeat to his rivals.

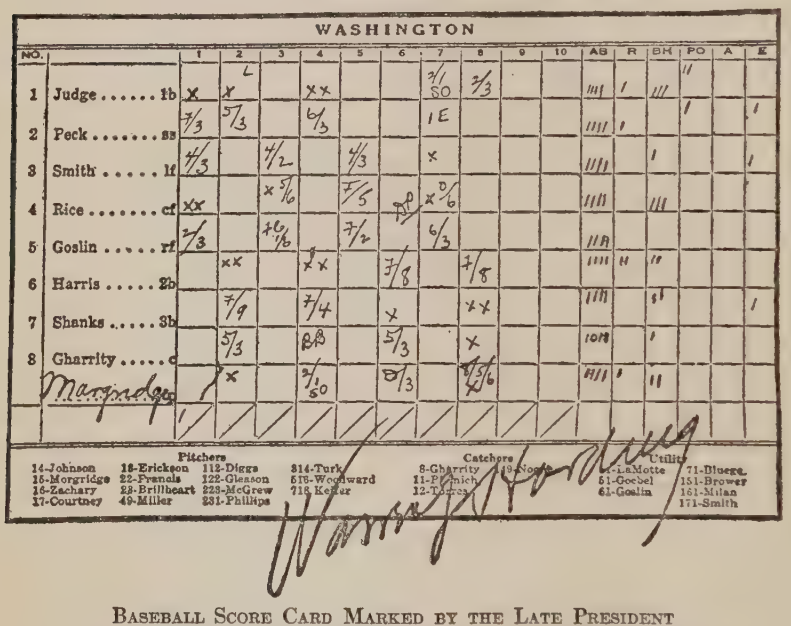
THE WARREN G. HARDING TROPHY

Only a month before he died he donated a cup known as the Warren G. Harding trophy, emblematic

of the American Public Links Championship. It was given to J. D. Standish, Jr., chairman of the Public Links Committee of the United States Golf Association.

THE LURE OF THE BALL FIELD

Away back in boyhood days Warren Harding played third and first base with considerable success on an amateur ball team in Marion, and was considered a



BASEBALL SCORE CARD MARKED BY THE LATE PRESIDENT

A reproduction of a score card showing how carefully President Harding kept the score. He marked this card at a game between Washington and New York, of the American League, at the opening of the season in April, 1923.

first-rate hitter, though only an ordinary fielder. His love of baseball continued with him all through his life. Babe Ruth, the phenomenal home-run king, was a great favorite with him, and the President received him several times and saw him play in Washington.

President Harding knew the record of each, and liked nothing better, besides playing golf, than to relax for a time and talk over the situation in the Big Leagues.

Returning from his trip to Florida in the spring of 1923, the presidential party made a short stop-over at Augusta, Georgia, and learning that Detroit was to play Toronto in an exhibition game Harding hurried to the Sally League grounds for the game.

He arrived just as a few drops of rain fell, and he inquired hastily if the game would be called. Finding the teams would play under any conditions he was delighted and seated himself in the stands and kept careful score of the exhibition game.

FRIEND OF REPORTERS AND CAMERA MEN

Always "human," Mr. Harding took considerable delight in meeting and talking with the reporters and the camera men. Few men have been more photographed. He "screened" well, and was a popular figure in the motion-picture theaters.

His relations with the newspaper men were not at all those of President and reporter. He was one of the "boys"; spoke his mind freely, and trusted them not to broadcast information which was not yet ripe and which by advance publication might have harmful effect.

"I don't want to be on my dignity all the time," he said. And they understood.

STOGIES AND MOTOR CARS

Fishing and yachting were among the sports which the President enjoyed, but he was especially fond of motoring. As he himself said:

"To me motoring has always been the grandest sport and the greatest luxury of which I have any knowledge. I have owned a number of cars and have invested in them more perhaps than I could afford and in so doing have not set a good example of thrift and common sense to my fellow citizens, yet have spent no money for pleasure or enjoyment which I have regretted less. I have found my cars providers of healthful recreation; extenders and cementers of friendship; broadeners of acquaintance and a worthwhile adjunct."

It may be added that his favorite smoke was the humble stogie.

SHRINER AND TALL CEDAR

Wherever he went, President Harding carried a full assortment of interests which tuned in with the common interests of the people, and the few who smiled at a President being initiated into the Tall Cedars of Lebanon failed to reckon with those millions of Americans who belong to one or more fraternal orders, and find such organizations consistent with the clear aims of unpolluted loyalty to our ideals. More than two years of the stress incident to the presidency in no wise lessened his fondness for his Shriner's fez or his eagerness to personally hand a banner to the Knights Templar.

Chapter XVI

THE MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE

COMRADE OF THE PRESIDENT—THE GRACIOUSNESS OF THE FIRST LADY OF THE LAND—SHAKING HANDS WITH SIX THOUSAND PEOPLE—THE FLORENCE HARDING NEWSBOYS' ASSOCIATION—A BRAVE WOMAN IN THE HOUR OF DARKNESS

AS Mr. Harding represented to the world what is highest and best in American manhood, so does Mrs. Harding represent what is highest and best in American womanhood.

The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but to those who, like the late President and his wife, hold firmly to their belief in God and in humanity; who, though the whole earth be tossed about by the spirit of unrest, yet steer a calm, straight course.

The stern and uncompromising inheritance of her Dutch Mennonite ancestors had its influence in shaping Mrs. Harding's career.

Economy and thrift were the watchwords of her home. Taught as a child by her father, Amos Kling, to walk in the middle of the country roads, to turn neither to the right hand nor to the left and to keep a watchful eye about her, she acquired both directness of purpose and alertness of mind, qualities with which her father had to reckon later on. He had migrated from Pennsylvania many years previous to her birth and became one of the first settlers of that part of Ohio now called Marion. Two sons were born to him, but

only one daughter, Florence, and he wished that she, too, had been a boy.

Having discovered as his daughter grew up that she possessed decided musical talent, he encouraged its development and after her school course was completed, permitted her to go to Cincinnati to study at the Conservatory of Music. "Permitted" is the proper word, for in those days, a girl who desired to leave her home to follow an ambition elsewhere, did not say, "Father, I intend to do so and so," and proceed to rent a flat and bob her hair, but waited upon parental permission. For three years, she practiced, faithfully and hopefully, seven hours a day. Think of it, ye maidens who rebel at two hours!

Many of the young people of Marion owe their musical knowledge to her instruction and more than one musician owes his success to her interest.

PARENTAL OBJECTION TO MARRIAGE

Then suddenly, when only eighteen, came marriage, a little son, widowhood and a return to her father's home. The latter had decided that she was to become a musical celebrity and to that end left no stone unturned.

But Warren Harding and Florence Kling, having grown up side by side as it were, "jes' natcherly," as the old colored woman said, fell in love; so to Amos Kling, Warren represented a stone in Florence's path to success. He therefore determined to remove that stone by refusing his consent to their marriage. There were two elements in his daughter's character, however, which he had forgotten or had chosen to overlook—the force of her will and the extent of her courage. Without his consent, she and Warren Harding were married, July 8, 1891.

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ON THE LINKS

The President on the putting green at Chevy Chase Country Club. The ancient and royal game of golf offered Mr. Harding a means of keeping physically fit for the heavy duties of his office

THE PRESIDENT AT PRINCETON

Shortly after receiving the honorary degree of LL D. from the University, Mr Harding made an impressive address in the shadow of the great Princeton battle monument

Had her father lived to see her become the mistress of the White House, he would not have felt so keenly that she had allowed success to pass her by. Though in time reconciled to her marriage with Mr. Harding, Amos Kling passed away before the great day which proved that his daughter's faith in her choice was justified.

Never did her father become reconciled, however, to Mr. Harding's political ambitions. Again and again he urged him to let politics alone. Had it not been for his wife, who urged him to keep to his political course, Mr. Harding might possibly have heeded his father-in-law's suggestion.

Wishing to be an intelligent and helpful assistant to her husband in his political career, Mrs. Harding set herself to the study of politics with the same vigor that she had applied in mastering the details of the newspaper business

THE BUSINESS WOMAN

At the time of their marriage, Mr. Harding was the owner and editor of the Marion *Star*. He had mortgaged his business heavily and was vitally concerned in its success.

Mrs. Harding with cheerful energy and keen intelligence took hold of the circulation and advertising departments of the paper and made them pay.

"Had I been the boy Dad wanted, I would have become a business man," she once told a friend. Being a woman, however, was no obstacle to her—she proved her business ability beyond doubt.

It is said that she even stood by the presses, directed the routes of the carriers and, in an extremity, spanked any newsboy whose "pursuit of happiness" interfered

with the newspaper business! Yet the health and happiness of each one of these boys was her daily concern. She formed a club for their benefit, and a very touching appreciation of her interest in them and their affection for her was shown by these lads. When grown to manhood and many of them had become business men of Marion, they formed the Florence Harding Campaign Club to further her success by aiding Mr. Harding in his campaign for the Presidency. Among these boys were George Christian, who became private secretary to the late President, and Major Baldinger.

During this campaign, Mr. Harding was again advised to withdraw from the fight—this time, by experienced politicians who were alarmed by the gloomy outlook for Harding in certain states. Again Mrs. Harding urged him to keep to his course, saying, "Do not give up! The fight has just begun!" He did not give up, but fought his fight to its great finish.

Probably his greatest asset, outside of his own personality, was his wife's unfailing faith in him.

Mrs. Harding's only child, the son before mentioned, had gone to Colorado in search of health, but failed to find it. His widow and two children, Jean and George, live in Marion.

When told that their grandmother was going to Washington to live in the White House and be its mistress, they were not particularly impressed but were utterly overwhelmed by the fact that their beloved "Goggy," as they call Mrs. Harding, was going to leave them.

She has entered into welfare work, the study of the public school system, and girl's work because of her great love for children and young people. The Girl

Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls know her as a leader with a peculiarly winning manner and great sympathy. Her simplicity and directness appeal to youth—as they do to most people, for that matter.

Her opinions are strong and she expresses them freely but with a tact that does not offend.

Truth and tact are not always handmaidens, but in Mrs. Harding's case they work in harmony.

THE CHILDREN'S SERENADE

On the night of Mr. Harding's election to the Presidency, she announced to friends that the police who stood guard at the White House gates should be withdrawn, and true to her word, the first executive order of the President opened the gates to the general public. She happened to be entertaining at luncheon that day and many of those visiting the grounds peeped in the windows of the dining room. It was a rather curious and very amusing experience—for those inside as well as out!

Because of her love of flowers and color, the lawns at the White House were altered and a large number of new flower-beds added. Mentioning the lawn brings to mind the story of the children who planned to serenade her one summer day upon that lawn. But a heavy rain suddenly descended and by Mrs. Harding's orders the children were hastily bundled into the White House. There, in the East Room, the serenade was happily concluded, though there were not enough chairs for each little guest to have one, so one delighted child and Mrs. Harding shared a chair between them.

Just before the inauguration of Mr. Harding in March, 1921, Mrs. Harding called upon Mrs. Wilson

to inquire the details and difficulties of "keeping house" in the White House. For it was her desire that the President should find the same rest and peace in the White House that her husband had found in his Marion home.

Her visit to Mrs. Wilson was quite a departure from custom—the oldest attendant could not recall an instance where the wife of the President elect had called upon the wife of the President de facto.

It was not the influence of the present day demanding a change from the old order only because of its age which decided Mrs. Harding to simplify, as far as she could, certain features of Washington official life—she saw clearly that the physical strain was too great to be borne. To break time-honored customs and establish new, takes courage and good judgment. The significant feature in the reaction of Washington to the new order was its approval.

SHAKING HANDS WITH 6500 PEOPLE

To show her courage from another angle, one remembers the New Year's Day reception of 1922 when, with the President, Mrs. Harding stood from eleven in the morning until five in the afternoon, greeting and shaking hands with over 6500 people. That the President was fatigued was perfectly evident, but though Mrs. Harding seemed to lean against a silken rope, apparently to support herself, yet she said with a smile when cautioned about overtaxing her strength, "My left hand is good for two hours yet!" and held it up—but her right hand had given out.

Many Secret Service men and White House detectives were on guard, looking closely at each person who

approached the President and Mrs. Harding; should a man have his hand in his pocket or a woman her hand in her muff, each would be politely but firmly told to take it out—no chances were being taken.

One of Mrs. Harding's chief pleasures while mistress of the White House was to come down from the upper floor when visitors were roaming about the lower floor, extend her hand and smilingly introduce herself. If not pressed for time, she would walk with them from room to room, pointing out this or that object of interest; if unable to remain long, she would quietly slip away. The visitors, to her, were not a horde of strangers to be avoided, but guests in her home.

To them, the cherished memory of a slight and rather frail lady, holding herself very erect, with a dignified but gentle manner and clear, direct gaze—who told them as though she meant it, that she was glad to see them there.

MRS. HARDING AND THE FRENCH MODISTE

That her taste in dress is excellent, all agree; avoiding extremes and preferring American made articles of whatever nature. The following story illustrates the point. An importer and designer of millinery exhibited for Mrs. Harding's approval a French hat. "So chic! So ravissante! Madame will be a delight to the eye with it upon the head!" Madame replies that the French hat is truly charming, but that she wishes to purchase an American hat. It is the American hat that is ordered and Madame departs with both conscience and womanly vanity satisfied. The importer is amazed at the choice, yet is quite won over by the gracious manner of her distinguished customer.

THE DOMESTIC SIDE OF HER LIFE

The representative of a foreign power was quoted as saying not long ago that one thing which had particularly impressed him about Mr. Harding, was the domestic side of his life. It was Mrs. Harding's devoted care, her willingness to sacrifice herself for his good, her desire to share and to ease her husband's burdens that made such a comment upon Mr. Harding possible.

Some one in her home town who knew her from youth, gave this description of her several years ago: "Florence Harding? Oh, she's a *fine* woman. Nice to everybody. Knows how to run things, too. Runs her house; runs the paper if necessary; runs Warren; runs everything but the car, and could run that if she wanted to. She's all right, Florence is."

That our country shares the feeling of the citizen of Marion has been clearly demonstrated. When she lay suffering, the nation suffered with her; when she recovered, it almost breathlessly rejoiced; when her dearly loved husband slipped away into the shadow, the nation grieved, not alone for him but for her in her great loneliness. Such is the tribute to her personality.

She is indeed one whom it is a delight to honor.

Chapter XVII

A MAN OF RELIGION

THE INNER NATURE OF WARREN G. HARDING—THE BIBLE THE BACKGROUND OF HIS ETHICS—HIS BELIEF IN PRAYER—THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL TEXT—THE RELIGIOUS NOTE IN HIS LAST ADDRESSES

THE spiritual side of the American Presidency is the keystone in the arch of the nation. Eight of the thirty Presidents have been members of the Episcopal Church, seven were Presbyterians, four were Methodists, four were Unitarians, two belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, one was identified with the Church of the Disciples, and one called himself a Liberal, namely, Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Harding was the first Baptist. Calvin Coolidge, the thirtieth President, is the first Congregationalist.

President Harding was a man of the deepest religious feeling. He believed in the Bible; he believed in the church; and he believed intensely in prayer.

He voiced his belief in prayer in these words: "I believe in prayer. I believe in prayer in the closet, for there one faces God alone. Many times the outspoken prayer is only for the people's ears. I can understand how those prophets of old in their anxieties, problems, perturbations, and perplexities found courage and strength when they gave their hearts to the great Omnipotent in prayer."

His dependence upon Divine help was one of the outstanding traits of his character.

"How many things there are in Scripture that we in our worldliness never discover," he said on one occasion while President. "After all, men are much alike. God made us all in the same image and there is no difference in us except as we have developed, and when the weight of responsibility is shouldered upon us, then God makes men equal to that responsibility. It is the touch of responsibility that makes the human being awake.

"I have said it a great many times, that I do not know what there is in the revolution of fate. There was no particular reason why I should be President. I claim no outstanding ability. I did not even want the place —I am not advertising it—but somehow I have believed with all my heart that by temperament and practice maybe I fitted into this peculiar situation in the world. Tolerance, patience, and good will, a kindly feeling and the desire to help are the greatest needs of the world to-day; and if I can put that good feeling throughout the world, my services may not have been in vain."

Those who knew President Harding intimately often commented upon his unassuming but deep and sincere religious faith. The Bible, with its triumphant assurance of an all-ruling, all-loving God, and its simple but far-reaching ethical precepts, was the inspiration and guiding star of his life, whether he was still an obscure printer in a small town, a beloved fellow-citizen growing in influence, the Senator of his native state, or the Chief Magistrate of the greatest republic occupying the most arduous and responsible position among the world's public men. But indeed he never left his faith in doubt whatever place he filled. Long before he was known outside his home town he had pasted on the wall of the editorial room of the Marion *Star* a creed, which

PRESIDENT AND MRS. HARDING WITH VICE-PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE
A happy party at the Union Station in Washington

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RETURNING FROM CHURCH SERVICE

President Harding was, throughout his life, a devout Christian. Both he and Mrs. Harding were regular churchgoers and are here seen leaving Calvary Baptist Church in Washington after the services

might well be adopted by every newspaper in the land. This creed, which has been widely copied, is given in full in a former chapter.

WITH FIRM FAITH IN A DIVINELY PLANNED DESTINY

When on March 2, 1921, neighbors and friends gathered round the front porch of his home to pay him a feeling good-bye which was all the more significant because it had no formal pomp or ceremony in it, he spoke with emotion of the ties of close acquaintance that had bound them all together, but he touched a still deeper note when he said:

"I want to go to Washington with your prayers as well as your friendship. Though I may not always be the ideal, I want you to know that in my heart is reverence for Almighty God. I believe that He has His part in directing the destinies of this free people. I want Him to know of our prayers. I want Him to know of our trust in Him, and trusting in Him and with confidence in ourselves, we need have no concern for the future of this republic."

THE PRESIDENT'S TEXT

In his Inaugural, standing with his hand on the Bible which had been used by Washington, the text which he chose to read was one of the simplest and most comforting and best known. The choice was characteristic of the man and doubtless expressed the heart of his own faith and works: "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." The text is from Micah, the sixth chapter and the eighth verse.

THE RELIGIOUS NOTE IN HIS LAST ADDRESSES

A member of the Calvary Baptist Church, President Harding always found time for attendance at religious exercises, no matter how pressing were the affairs of state. In his boyhood days his mother had taught him the value of things spiritual, and all through his life he placed his dependence upon Divine help. The average man is naturally shy about expressing his religious convictions, and Mr. Harding was no exception to the rule. But on that last trip to the Coast he spoke of the things of his heart with a frankness and sincerity that made him kin with the Crusaders. Indeed, his closest friends believe that during the closing weeks of his life his religious faith became deeper and more intense and that he confidently looked to a revival of religion in America.

On the platform of his railroad car, on the Sunday morning when he arrived at Colorado Springs, Colo., he said this:

"I tell you, my countrymen, the world needs more of the Christ; the world needs the spirit of the man of Nazareth, and if we could bring into the relationships of humanity among ourselves and among the nations of the world the brotherhood that was taught by the Christ we would have a restored world; we would have little or none of war and we would have a new hope for humanity throughout the earth. There never was a greater lesson taught than that of the Golden Rule. I would almost be willing to wipe out the other commandments."

In his speech at Helena, Mont., he emphasized the same thought:

"Mankind has never stood more in need than it does now of the consolations and reassurances which are derived from a firm religious faith. We must not let

our engrossment with things of matter and of mind distract us from a proper concern for those which are of the spirit and the soul."

One of his last acts, after he had been driven by pain and illness to the bed where he died, was to command his secretary, George Christian, Junior, to go to Los Angeles, and deliver the address which he had prepared for the Knights Templar of the Hollywood Commandery. In this address, which Mr. Christian delivered, was the same dominant spiritual note. To take one paragraph:

"We should glorify the holy name, not by words, not by praise, not by displays at arms, but by deeds and service in behalf of human brotherhood. Christ, the great exemplar of our (Knights Templar) order, repeatedly urged this truth upon his hearers. There was nothing mythical or mystical in the code of living preached by Jesus Christ."

It was no formal subscription to a creed that President Harding advocated. It was religion plus good conduct. It was religion plus morality. It was religion plus service. He gave full credit to the material things of life, and was ever eager to aid in the betterment of living conditions of the men and women in the United States, but he was zealous for the finer attainments which make a man and a community worth while.

His last editorial in the Marion *Star*, which appeared on July 5, 1922, closed with these words, which no city need be ashamed to take for its slogan:

"Let Marion preserve every good lesson of the yesterdays and resolve to go on, adding to the stride in industry and commerce, and determined that every enlargement in material growth shall reflect larger progress in the finer attainments which make a community worth

while. The fit counterpart to the city of material success is the city of happy homes, ample education, fortunate and profitable employment, worship of God facilitated, a civic conscience and a community soul."

In his Worthington speech he had said that the supreme need of the world was "the gospel of understanding." It was this belief in the power of mutual understanding—fundamentally a religious belief—to solve international and national problems, which led him to suggest the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, to propose a World Court as a means of adjusting international differences, to intervene in the controversy over the twelve-hour day in the steel industry and to announce to one of his intimates, who disclosed the fact after his passing, that he intended to devote the remainder of his life to spreading the gospel of good will among the nations.

A single-minded, upright, unselfish character whose life was in harmony with his faith and for whose epitaph might be chosen the noble words of Sir Henry Wotton, a diplomatist of nearly three hundred years ago:

How happy is he born and taught
That serveth not another's will:
Whose armour is his honest thought
And simple truth his utmost skill!

* * * * * *

This man is free from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

Chapter XVIII

AMERICA FIRST

THE SACREDNESS OF THE CONSTITUTION—THE DUTY OF CITIZENSHIP—THE PRACTICE OF AMERICANISM—NORMALCY, AN OLD WORD REVIVED AND ECHOED AROUND THE COUNTRY—THE SOLEMN COUNSEL OF A MAN OF INTENSE PATRIOTISM—THE GOSPEL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT

THERE were some who criticized President Harding because he did not have the international spirit. If by internationalism is meant un-nationalism the charge is justified. He had a fellow-feeling for all the nations of the earth, he was willing to go far to aid, but he believed intensely in American ideals, American institutions, and the American high standard of living; and from the time he grew up on th farm till he laid down his life as President of the United States he was a nationalist, he was an "American first," as he phrased it.

His was no narrow patriotism. The heart of America was sound, its spirit true, its conduct righteous, its people prosperous above all peoples on the planet—these were the things that made him cry out, "America first!"

The peoples of Europe have been wont to say, slightingly, "America has no history." As Europe reckons history the statement is true. Scarcely a century and a half ago the United States came into being—"a new nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." The nations

of Europe have histories dating back a thousand years and more. The records of the United States go back only a hundred and fifty. But in those hundred and fifty years what things have been accomplished! Let the dead President tell the story.

"The Pilgrims signed their simple and majestic covenant a full century and a half before, and set aflame their beacon of liberty on the coast of Massachusetts, and other pioneers of New-World freedom were rearing their new standards of liberty from Jamestown to Plymouth for five generations before Lexington and Concord heralded a new era; and it was all American in the destined result, yet all of it lacked the soul of nationality. In simple truth, there was no thought of nationality in the revolution for American independence. The colonists were resisting a wrong and freedom was their solace. Once it was achieved, nationality was the only agency suited to its preservation.

"Ours was the physically incomparable America, so enriched by God's bounty and so incalculable in its possibilities that adventurous Spaniard and developing Englishman stood only at the gateway and marveled. Ours were American colonies in name, but the colonists were still echoing the prejudices and aspirations of the lands from which they came. There were conflicting ideas, varying conditions, and contending jealousies, but no common confidence, no universal pride, no illuminating spirit. These essentials came with the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the riveting of union, and the star of the American republic was set aglow in the world firmament on the day that ratification was effected.

"On that day Americanism began, robed in nationality. On that day the American republic began the

blazed trail of representative popular government. On that day representative democracy was proclaimed the safe agency of highest human freedom. On that day America headed the forward procession of civil, human and religious liberty, which ultimately will effect the liberation of all mankind.

THE SACREDNESS OF THE CONSTITUTION

"I am not thinking to magnify its comparative excellence, its charm of simplicity, or its exalted place among the written fundamental laws. I am recalling the Federal Constitution as the very base of all Americanism, as the ark of the covenant of American liberty, as the very temple of equal rights, as the very foundation of all our worthy aspirations. More, it was the supreme pledge of coördinate government by law, with the sponsorship of majorities, the protected rights of minorities, and freedom from usurpation of power—the people to rule.

"Men ofttimes sneer nowadays like it were some useless relic of the formative period, seemingly unmindful that on its guaranties rests the liberty which permits ungrateful sneering. Others pronounce it time-worn and antiquated and unsuited to modern liberty, but they forget that the world's orderly freedom has come of its inspiration. Perhaps its very simplicity, its utter naturalness for a popular government under majority rule, has led to scant appreciation if not unmindfulness. But it does abide and ever will so long as the republic survives.

DEVOTION TO DUTY AS WELL AS DIVIDENDS

"It is well enough to preach Americanism, and we ought. It is more important to practise it, and we must.

In truth, my countrymen, we need practical Americanism in business as well as proclaimed Americanism in politics. It is superb to lead in commerce and excel in industry—and no nation ever filled a brilliant page in history until it reached industrial and commercial eminence—but the distinction is too costly if wrought in the neglected qualities of citizenship and attending unrest and ultimate revolution.

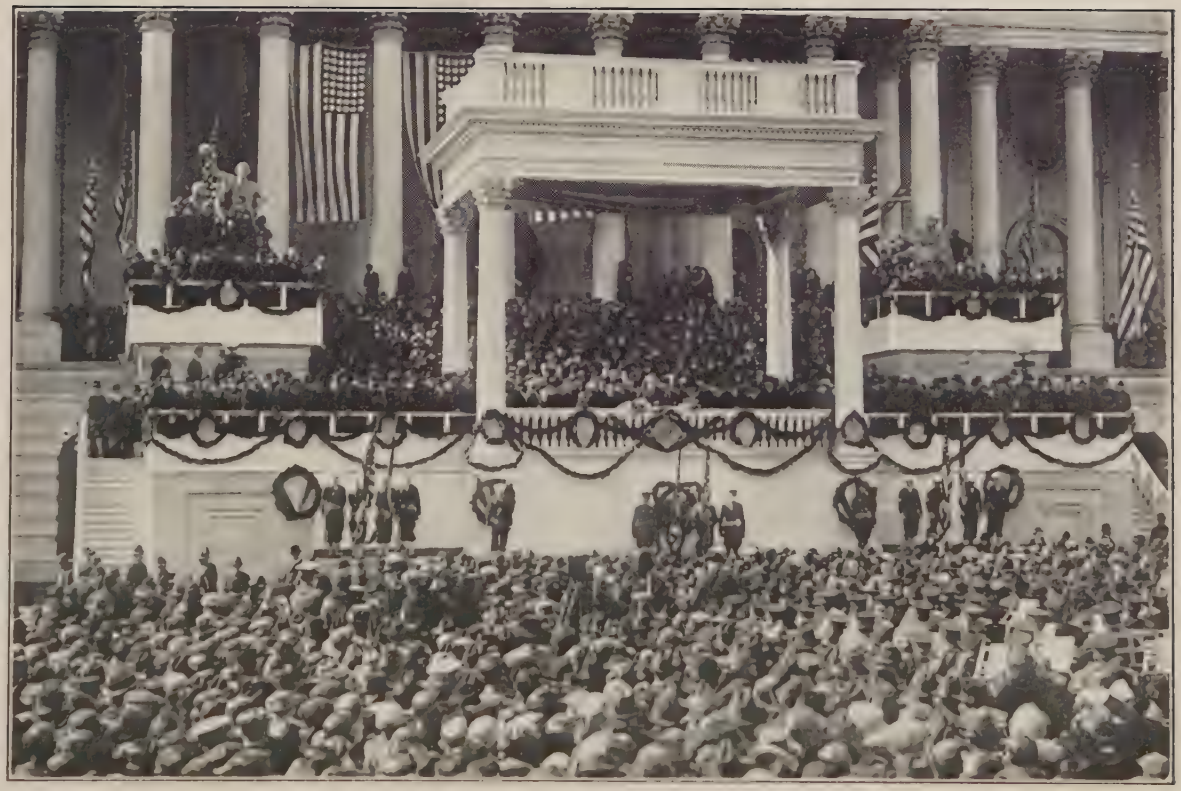
"It is well enough to be concerned about the quantity and quality of our wares, but it is better to be sure of the spirit of the workers who make them. We must be thinking of men as well as materials and the conditions of making as well as marketing. The enhancement of conditions in twenty years is tribute to awakened American conscience, but the neglect of education is the warning to American heedlessness.

"There must be concern about devotion to duty as well as dividends. There must be a thought of the eventful morrow as well as the golden day. It is of no avail merely to preach contentment. Content never lighted a furnace nor turned a wheel in all creation. It doesn't exist in the human being who is really worth while. Mere subsistence does not make a citizen, and generous compensation without thrift blasts every hope of acquirement.

"What humanity most needs just now is understanding. The present-day situation is more acute because we are in the ferment that came of war and war's aftermath. Ours was a fevered world, sometimes flighty, as we used to say in the village, to suggest fever's fancies or delirium. I forbear specification. But we are slow getting normal again, and the world needs sanity as it seldom needed it before.

THE WHITE HOUSE

The official residence of the President of the United States in Washington, D. C. It was begun in 1792, burned by the British in 1814, rebuilt in 1818



HAIL TO THE TWENTY-NINTH PRESIDENT

The inauguration of Warren G. Harding at the Capitol, Washington, on March 4, 1921. In keeping with the simplicity of his "front porch" campaign, the President-Elect requested that the ceremonies be kept as simple as possible. A stand was erected in front of the Capitol not unlike a porch, for the ceremony. No special parades or other features were arranged and the railroads ran no excursions—yet the crowd which heard his inaugural speech was the greatest that had ever attended a similar event

"Many have thought the ratification of the peace treaty and its league of nations would make us normal, but that is the plea of the patent-medicine fakir, whose one remedy will marvelously cure every ill. Undoubtedly formal peace will help, and I would gladly speed the day, if we sacrifice nothing vitally American. Yet as a matter of fact actual peace prevails and commerce has resumed its wonted way.

A PLEA FOR NORMALCY

"Normal thinking will help more. And normal living will have the effect of a magician's wand, paradoxical as the statement seems. The world does deeply need to get normal, and liberal doses of mental science freely mixed with resolution will help mightily. I do not mean the old order will be restored. It will never come again. A world war's upheaval which ends autocracies and wipes out dynasties and multiplies cost of government, an upheaval which shifts the sacred ratio of 16 to 1 until silver is the more sacred, sweeps humanity beyond any return to precise pre-war conditions.

"But there is a sane normalcy due under the new conditions, to be reached in deliberation and understanding. And all men must understand and join in reaching it. Certain fundamentals are unchangeable and everlasting. Life without toil never was and never can be. Ease and competence are not to be seized in frenzied envy; they are the reward of thrift and industry and denial. There can be no excellence without great labor. There is no reward except as it is merited. Lowered cost of living and increased cost of production are an economic fraud. Capital makes possible while labor produces, and neither ever achieved without the other,

and both of them together never wrought a success without genius and management. No one of them, through the power of great wealth, the force of knowledge, or the might of great numbers is above the law, and no one of them shall dominate a free people.

"There can be no liberty without security, and there can be no security without the supremacy of law and the majesty of just government. In the gleaming Americanism of the Constitution there is neither fear nor favor, but there are equal rights to all, equal opportunities beckoning to every man, and justice untrammeled. The government which surrenders to the conspiracies of an influential few or yields to the intimidation of the organized many does justice to neither and none and dims the torch of Americanism which must light our way to safety.

"Governmental policies change and laws are altered to meet the changed conditions which attend all human progress. There are orderly processes for these necessary changes. Let no one proclaim the Constitution unresponsive to the conscience of the republic. We have recently witnessed its amendment with less than eighteen months intervening between submission and ratification, with some manifestation of sorrow marking the fundamental change. It promptly responds to American conviction and is the rock on which is builded the temple of orderly liberty and the guaranteed freedom of the American republic.

"The insistent problem of the day, magnified in the madness of war and revealed in the extreme reaction from hateful and destroyed autocracy to misapplied and bolshevist democracy, like the pathos of impotent Russia, is the preservation of civil liberty and its guaranties.

Let Russia experiment in her fatuous folly until the world is warned anew by her colossal tragedy. And let every clamorous advocate of the red régime go to Russia and revel in its crimsoned reign. This is law-abiding America!

"Our American course is straight ahead, with liberty under the law, and freedom glorified in righteous restraint. Reason illumines our onward path, and deliberate, intelligent public opinion reveals every pitfall and byway which must be avoided. America spurns every committal to the limits of mediocrity and bids every man to climb to the heights and rewards him as he merits it. This is the essence of liberty and made us what we are. Our system may be imperfect, but under it we have wrought to world astonishment, and we are only fairly begun.

"It would halt the great procession to time our steps with the indolent, the lazy, the incapable, or the sullenly envious. Nor can we risk the course sometimes suggested by excessive wealth and its ofttimes insolent assumption of power, but we can practise thrift and industry, we can live simply and commend righteous achievement, we can make honest success an inspiration to succeed, and march hopefully on to the chorus of liberty, opportunity and justice.

"Sometimes we must go beneath the surface gulf stream to find the resistless currents of the great ocean. It little matters what a man proclaims in an ephemeral outcry for fancied reformation, you get the true undercurrent when you learn his aspiration for his children and his children's children. He stands with his generation between yesterday and the morrow, eager to lift his children to a little higher plane than mediocrity can

bridge and which socialism never reaches. He wants to hand on American freedom unabridged; he wants to bequeath the waters of American political life unpolluted; he would bestow the quality of opportunity unaltered and the security of just government unendangered. The underwriting is in the complete and rejoicing Americanism of every citizen of the republic.

"Mr. Toastmaster, we have been hearing lately of the selfishness of nationality, and it has been urged that we must abandon it in order to perform our full duty to humanity and civilization. Let us hesitate before we surrender the nationality which is the very soul of highest Americanism. This republic has never failed humanity or endangered civilization. We have been tardy about it, like when we were proclaiming democracy and neutrality while we ignored our national rights, but the ultimate and helpful part we played in the great war will be the pride of Americans so long as the world recites the story.

AMERICAN FIRST

"We do not mean to hold aloof, we choose no isolation, we shun no duty. I like to rejoice in an American conscience and in a big conception of our obligations to liberty, justice and civilization. Aye, and more, I like to think of Columbia's helping hand to new republics which are seeking the blessings portrayed in our example. But I have a confidence in our America that requires no council of foreign powers to point the way of American duty. We wish to counsel, coöperate and contribute, but we arrogate to ourselves the keeping of the American conscience and every concept of our moral obligations. It is fine to idealize, but it is very practical to make sure

our own house is in perfect order before we attempt the miracle of the Old-World stabilization.

"Call it the selfishness of nationality if you will, I think it an inspiration to patriotic devotion—

"To safeguard America first.

"To stabilize America first.

"To prosper America first.

"To think of America first.

"To exalt America first.

"To live for and revere America first.

"We may do more than prove exemplars to the world of enduring, representative democracy where the Constitution and its liberties are unshaken. We may go on securely to the destined fulfillment and make a strong and generous nation's contribution to human progress, forceful in example, generous in contribution, helpful in all suffering, and fearless in all conflicts.

"Let the internationalist dream and the Bolshevist destroy. God pity him 'for whom no minstrel raptures swell.' In the spirit of the republic we proclaim Americanism and acclaim America."

Pride, congratulation and warning—all three are found in this review of President Harding's, taken from his speech delivered in New York before the Ohio Society of New York, January 10, 1920. It is a speech that ought to be studied by every American and by every alien who hopes to become an American.

Chapter XIX

A TRIBUTE TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE DIFFERENCES OF 1912—THE CONCORD OF 1916—ONE PRESIDENT'S APPRAISEMENT OF ANOTHER—THE FINDING OF THE AMERICAN SOUL—THE GREAT AWAKENING AND CONSECRATION

THERE was discord between Harding and Roosevelt in 1912; there was concord in 1916. With many of Roosevelt's ideals expressed in 1912 Harding agreed, but he believed that the main principles of progressiveness could be enacted through the instrumentalities of the Republican party rather than through the new party. Harding was a kindly man, given more to conciliation than to struggle, but his party was very dear to him and he showed himself strongly in opposition to anything that tended to break up the unity of that party.

THE DIFFERENCES OF 1912

The stout opponent of Roosevelt in 1912, he paid a splendid tribute to the great leader in his public address in Topeka, Kansas, on March 8, 1920. Among other things, he said:

"There has been widely distributed from my own state some quotations of utterances carried in 1912 in the *Marion* (Ohio) *Star*, of which I have been the sole or principal owner for the past thirty years. These quotations are distributed to appeal to the opposition to me on the part of the friends of that great outstanding American, Theodore Roosevelt. I magnify no post-

humous claims to an intimate friendship with Colonel Roosevelt, and could have no title to his political mantle, even if such bestowal were possible in this republic. On the other hand, I vigorously opposed him in 1912 just as he typically opposed the regular wing of the Republican party to which I adhered.

"Theodore Roosevelt never did anything half-heartedly. He preached the gospel of hitting and hitting hard for what he believed to be right. He expected his opponents to fight, and we were in a fight in 1912. I did my share of it in our newspaper and on the stump. Colonel Roosevelt and Mr. Taft were greatly estranged, but both were big enough to put aside their grief and bury their hostilities and make common appeal to the American people for a Republican victory in 1918. He and others came to new understanding.

"My concord with Theodore Roosevelt came shortly after our party's defeat in 1916. He invited me to a conference and I gladly responded. We did not dwell long on the differences of 1912. That was an old story, he thought his course was justified and we jointly deplored the result, but he did insist we must all get together and save the country through a Republican restoration; that the Republican party was the one agency through which to give highest service, and the compact of our council and coöperation was made then and there, and in many conferences afterward I came to know how deeply he felt the necessity of all Republicans uniting to effect the party supremacy so essential to the nation's good. It was his personal, rather than his political, wish that I should stand sponsor for the amendment to the army bill that made it possible for him to take a volunteer division to France, and I rejoiced over

the enactment, though President Wilson would not accept it. But the big thing was that Theodore Roosevelt was keen to wipe out the differences of 1912, now buried beneath eight years of regrets, and look with hope to party triumph through united endeavor in 1920.

"If he had lived, he would have been our Republican nominee by acclamation. It is poor proof of devotion and poorer evidence of the inheritance of the political wisdom which marked his matchless career to parade the mistakes of 1912 to inspire a victory in 1920. More, it is not progressive. It is retrogressive. I choose a party and a leadership which appraises men and issues of to-day, and thinks not of the differences of yesterday, but the victory of to-morrow.

"I am not blind to the admonition that the Republican party must take advanced ground to win popular favor. It may be noted, too, that those most insistently urging this, are declaring for the effacement of the men who have been conspicuous in the past. Let me warn you, fellow Republicans, the way to victory and the country's restoration is not in recrimination, but reconsecration. To efface the old guard, so-called, really a term of honor rather than opprobrium, which saved us from utter dissolution and gave us a party around which to rally, would be like effacing the veterans who turned the tide of rebellion at Gettysburg in '63. Nay, more, it would be like discrediting Grant's irresistible army which moved unfalteringly on, despite the discouraging losses, from the Wilderness to Appomattox and melted their swords and bayonets in the fires of conflict to rivet anew the ties of a saved and henceforth and forever indissoluble nation. At the same time let it be understood that there need be neither forswearing nor apology on the

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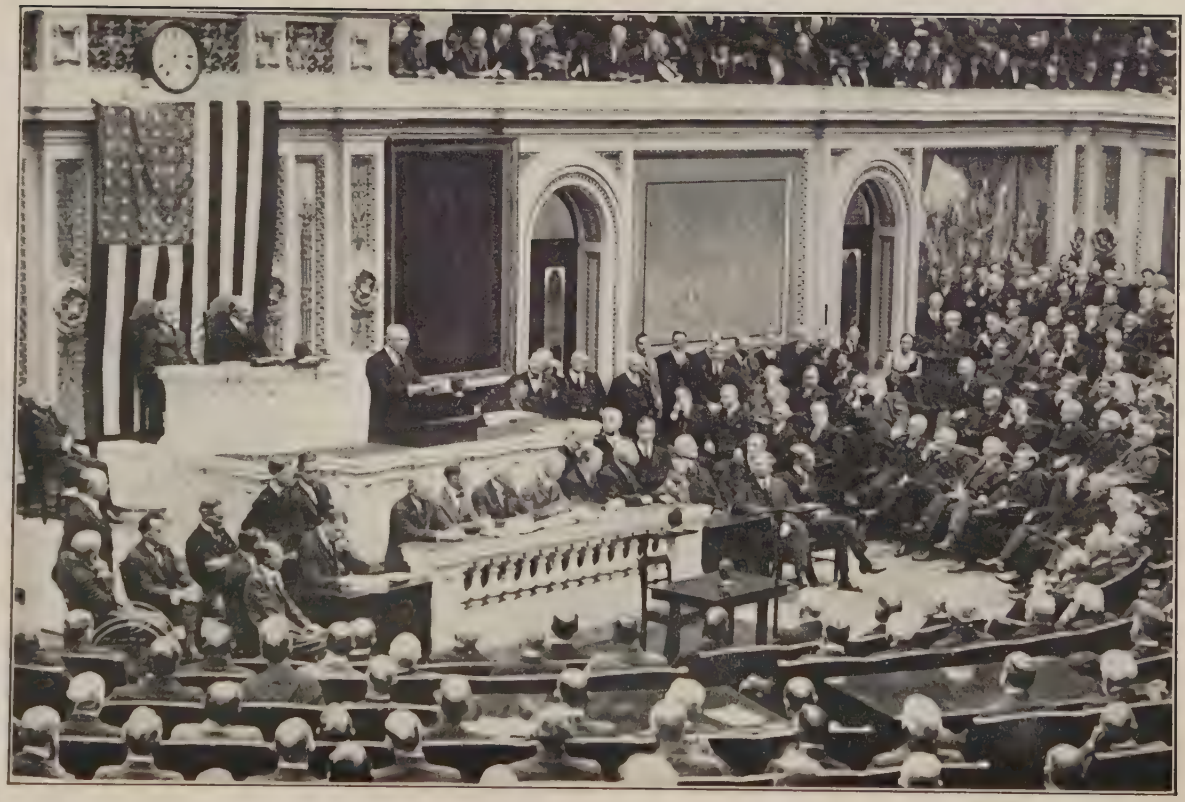
PRESIDENT HARDING AND HIS FIRST CABINET

At the head of the table is the President. In the front row from left to right are, Charles E. Hughes, Sec'y of State; John W. Weeks, Sec'y of War; Will H. Hays, Postmaster-General; Albert B. Fall, Sec'y of the Interior; Herbert C. Hoover, Sec'y of Commerce. Seated at the end of the table is Vice-President Coolidge. In the back row, left to right are, Andrew W. Mellon, Sec'y of the Treasury; Edwin Denby, Sec'y of the Navy; Harry M. Daugherty, Attorney-General; Henry C. Wallace, Sec'y of Agriculture, and James J. Davis, Sec'y of Labor. The only change made in the cabinet up to the death of Mr. Harding was caused by the resignation of Will H. Hays and the appointment of Hubert Work of Colorado, to be Postmaster-General.



THE MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

President Harding delivering his annual message to both Houses of Congress. In front on the tables are the radio microphones, for the first time used to broadcast a Presidential Message

part of those who enlisted in the Progressive cause of 1912. I can utter a cordial and sincere welcome to the reënlistment of any or all. The country is calling, the cause is a people's need, and the glory of things to be will make trivial the bitterness that came of things which could not be. Let us turn from the unhappy wreck of 1912 and look to relieving the country of the misfortune which attended. The party has proved its capacity to survive; let us work together to make it the instrumentality of highest usefulness under popular government through political parties.

THE PATH OF POLITICAL RIGHTEOUSNESS

"It is well, however, to ponder the tendency to break away from some of our old-fashioned moorings. Ours is intended to be a representative government, and has grown to gratifying eminence after nearly a century and a half of trials and storms and passing passions and prejudice. It was never intended to be excessively paternal nor socialistically fraternal. Yet there is a drift to both, and there is only a step between. Plunder and greed on the one hand, and appeal to prejudice and hate on the other are swelling the throngs of Socialism, which will turn our genius and talent and industry into paralyzed efficiency. Surely there is a path of political righteousness aloof from these threatening dangers. With conscience awakened, let us make it more sensitive; with men heeding, let us weave new strength into the moral fiber of individual American manhood; with public interest awakened, let us make honesty the first requisite of men and political parties, and apply it as the surest cure of all social and political and economic ills. Meanwhile, remembering that subsistence is the essential foundation

on which man must stand to reach for the ideal, let us think of the upkeep as well as the uplift, and assure our millions the subsistence from which they may aspire.

"We wish our party to be sanely, safely, genuinely progressive. We want it reflective of the best thought of our most helpful activities. But we must remember that material progress and human rights are not incompatible, but are inseparable, and any policy which hinders legitimate business halts the onward procession."

DISCORD GIVES WAY TO CONCORD

Colonel Roosevelt was progressive. Not less so was Mr. Harding. But where one believed that progressive legislation could only be achieved through the formation of a new party, the other believed that like results could be obtained without disruption of the old party. Warren Harding's Republicanism dated back to the days o James G. Blaine, and he had a love for the party that he could not banish. He supported Taft and was chosen to make the renomination speech for him in 1912. He had not yet come to the United States Senate; his political honors up till then had been confined to his own state—as Senator and Lieutenant Governor—and he felt embarassed by thus being thrust suddenly into the center of the stage. It was his first appearance before a national convention of his party, and it brought him prominently before the people. Two years later he won the primary election and became United States Senator, defeating Senator Joseph B. Foraker.

With all his admiration for Roosevelt he refused to entertain the belief that it was wise to break up the party organization, and he voiced his disapproval of the "Bull Moose" movement on many a public platform.

Some thoughtful observers believed they saw the end of the Republican party in 1912, but when the atmosphere was cleared of the conflicts of personalities and appeals to prejudices there was a reunion of the party in 1916, and Warren G. Harding was chosen to deliver the keynote speech at the Republican National Convention.

After the United States entered the war, Colonel Roosevelt was anxious to lead a volunteer detachment to France, and Warren G. Harding, then Senator, introduced a bill to this effect, but it fell under the Presidential veto.

"THE MOST COURAGEOUS AMERICAN OF ALL TIMES"

When the Colonel died, in January, 1919, Senator Harding was one of those who stood before the flag-draped casket in the little church at Oyster Bay, "amid simplicity so rigid that not one could help remark it." Speaking of the great leader in his speech a few days later before a joint convention of the General Assembly of Ohio Mr. Harding said:

"Measured from any view-point Colonel Roosevelt was one of the eminent Americans of all times, and history will write him one of the most conspicuous figures in all American history. I do not underrate the eminence which has gone before, nor doubt that great and distinguished Americans will follow, but in any appraisal Colonel Roosevelt's name will be inseparably linked with the finding of the American soul, with the great awakening and consecration. Now and hereafter let it be said: 'Here was a great and courageous American, who called to the slumbering spirit of the republic and made it American in fact as well as in name.'

"I say it after full deliberation, and free from all inclinations which characterize hero-worship, I believe Colonel Roosevelt to have been the most courageous American of all times. He not only believed, he proclaimed and acted. He was not only American in his own heart and soul, but he believed every man who wore the habiliments should be an American in every heartbeat, and commit himself to simple and unfailing Americanism.

COUNTRY FIRST

"It was the mastering passion, the supreme end. Men thought of him first as a warrior, but it was his all-encompassing Americanism which made him one. Historians rank him high as a statesman. It was his Americanism that exalted him. Many believed him to have become the consummate politician—and he was—but he put his Americanism high above political plans and practises. Not a few careful observers believe that Colonel Roosevelt lost the Republicans the election in 1916, and I have heard him say the contention may be well founded. But he was battling for a bigger thing than party triumph, and he put that bigger thing far above and beyond party success. He believed our involvement in the world war was inevitable, and was seeking to awaken the republic. He saw the purpose to rend the loyal concord of American citizenship, and bore aloft the torch to lead us from the perils of pacificism and indecision. He never turned back. He never counted the political cost. Though he thought to submit his national leadership again in 1920, and knew the perils in criticism and truth-telling, he struck fearlessly at every menacing thing, regardless of numbers involved, and smote divided loyalty and hyphenated Americanism at every turn.

"'Country first' was his supreme ideal, and 'country first' was his unfailing practise. The words were emblazoned in the oriflamme which enthused his followers throughout a marvelously eventful career.

"I sensed the depths of his convictions when Congress made it lawful for him to take a volunteer army to France, shortly after our entry in the war. We did not write his name in the law, but the country knew. I think a major-generalship appealed to his ambition, but he stipulated no rank. He wanted to recruit and respond to the call of threatened civilization. His critics misconstrued. I am sure I knew. He wanted to save the morale of suffering France and awaken the morale in this slumbering republic. In the retrospect I believe he rendered a greater service with voice and pen at home than was possible to perform with his sword in France. And somehow I am glad he remained a colonel—nay, the colonel. How significant it is, and what a tribute, that he had made the title of loftiest rank; he is 'The Colonel' to all America, and one needs only to mention the title without the name to have it understood that he is speaking of the most eminent colonel of all time.

TWO NOTABLE REVEALMENTS

"Colonel Roosevelt's extraordinary manhood, his appealing, vigorous, fearless, American manhood is an inseparable thing from his great public career. He revealed it as the ranchman in the freedom of the West. He revealed it as the soldier in the world's first war for humanity. He revealed it in an administrative and executive office, in his vaster responsibilities, and it was the conspicuous side of him in the retirement to which he could not retire. It was the big thing to those who

knew him best, and no man ever had faster and firmer friends. 'Better be faithful than famous' was an expressed conviction, and he was not only its exemplar but he inspired faithfulness. No other man could have enlisted the following which went with him to certain and foreseen political disaster in 1912. Or did they go with him? Perhaps it is nearer the truth to say he went with them. I have heard it said he advised against the political division in that year of bitterness and defeat, that he yielded to the pressure and judgment of friends and chose to be 'faithful rather than famous.' The retrospect recalls two notable revealments: he lost or broke few friendships; he was ever as willing to be convinced as he was convincing.

"The popular impression had him often domineering and insistent, but there were few American Presidents who sought advice more widely or were more ready to accept. My own impressions concerning him, gathered from press, platform and passing events, were largely altered by personal contact, and utterly changed by the revelations of those who knew him longer and better. Many thought the mighty hunter lacking in the gentler attributes, but he could be as gentle as he was strong, and as sympathetic as a mother touched by love.

"He was, first of all, a man of action, and delighted in strenuosity and confessed his fondness for hurrah and parade. But he was not always performing on a public stage. One of the very big events in his career was the least conspicuous and was barely known, until recited in the biography of the late John Hay, who had served in his inherited Cabinet as secretary of state. Germany threatened the seizure of a port in Venezuela to enforce some financial claims of German citizens. President

Roosevelt called in the German ambassador, and in a quiet demeanor that was ominous in itself, told him to tell the kaiser that unless he agreed to arbitrate the German contention within ten days Admiral Dewey would sail an American fleet with sealed instructions to give armed resistance to any attempt at German seizure. That was a message the kaiser could understand. The kaiser agreed to arbitrate. President Roosevelt publicly praised him for the peaceful proposal which the President himself so quietly yet firmly demanded. The great criminal, who afterward set the world aflame in 1914, had yielded to the firm assertion of American purpose, and the Monroe Doctrine was emphasized anew in the estimate of Old-World diplomacy.

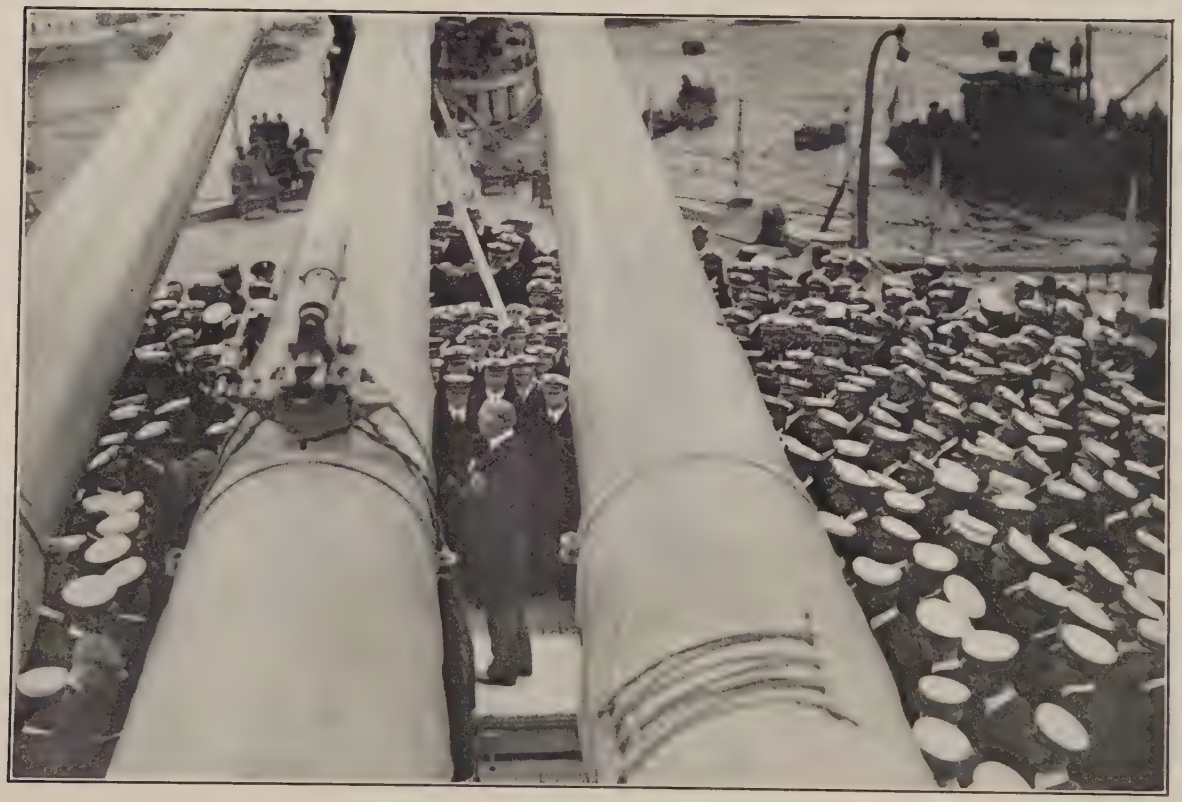
"There was more of unparaded activity but no less effectiveness in dealing with the designing statesmen of Colombia in the establishment of a friendly republic in Panama, which left the money grabbers of the greater state begging for millions to this very hour, though the great interoceanic canal is long since a finished monument for all time to President Roosevelt's aggressive Americanism and our republic's capacity to do big things. It is idle to speculate now, but I can not believe his stalwart Americanism would have ever sanctioned the surrender of its intended advantages to American shipping.

THE CRUSADE FOR THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS

"Perhaps his greatest work apart from his appealing Americanism, and yet a vital part of it, was his crusade for a new order of things, a new conscience in the republic. We can appraise him now in the aftermath of fuller understanding, and even those who most violently opposed him must confess his great part in an essential

awakening. He did four years of arousing and uprooting. His far-seeing vision detected a dangerous drift. He cried out for governmental assertion of authority, lest government itself should be the governed. In his zest he was the radical, as all crusaders are, but when he saw the business conscience of America awakened, he gladly welcomed constructive supersedure. He was really less the radical than he ofttimes appeared, and sometimes spoke radically against his own judgment. The greatest blunder of his career was made in this very chamber when he addressed the Constitutional Convention of 1912. He came against his own judgment and in yielding to insistent advice declared for the recall of judicial decisions. It is not surprising that one of his energy and courage should blunder, particularly in a period of tremendous conflict and crusading zeal. It was a mark of his greatness that he instantly recovered, and lost little of his hold and none of the respect of the American people. He incurred violent enmities, but none ever called him an unfair opponent. He struck as he spoke, straight from the shoulder, and he practised as he preached. In his virile American manhood he was the surpassing and inspiring example. In the fulness of mental and physical vigor, he was the great patriotic sentinel, pacing the parapet of the republic, alert to danger and every menace and in love with duty and service and always unafraid.

"It didn't seem quite in harmony with his untiring activity and unharnessed soul that its flame should fail in the quiet of slumber, but it was peace valiantly and triumphantly won, and the flames he lighted burned afresh and will light the way of a people whom he loved and who loved him as a great American."



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A FIGHTING SPEECH TO FIGHTING MEN

Standing beneath the muzzles of the giant 14-inch guns of the U. S. S. "Pennsylvania," flagship of the Atlantic Fleet which he had just reviewed from the deck of the "Mayflower," in Hampton Roads, President Harding told the officers and men of the fleet that the "United States wanted only its just dues but that we do want that which is righteously our own; and by the Eternal, we mean to have it"

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MAIMED WAR HEROES AT THE WHITE HOUSE

The President greeting wounded veterans of the World War at a White House lawn fête given in their honor. One of the President's first official acts was the reorganization of the Veterans' Bureau and he always manifested the tenderest sympathy for our injured heroes

Chapter XX

THE ARMAMENTS LIMITATION CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON THE STAGE FOR THE MOST SIGNIFICANT PAGEANT OF PEACE EVER PRESENTED—MAKING AN END OF THE RIVALRY IN BATTLESHIPS—THE PEACE OF THE PACIFIC—THE OUTSTRETCHED HAND TO CHINA—PRESIDENT HARDING VOICES THE WORLD'S REJOICING

CALLED together at Washington, in November, 1921, by President Harding, there gathered representatives of the great world powers to consider not the idealistic question of total disarmament, but the realistic and approachable question of the limitation of armaments, especially on the sea.

Inspired by the winning optimism of the President and the frank speech of the Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, the conference became perhaps the most significant pageant of peace ever staged.

The methods which were used to arrive at definite results were those of the realist, and the deliberators took every step carefully and upon solid, ascertainable ground.

IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD

But if the methods were those of diplomacy and of practical negotiation, the atmosphere was that of human brotherhood; and beyond the actual agreements arrived at, there was engendered a spirit of international goodwill that was acclaimed alike by realists and idealists.

The Armaments Limitation Conference was scheduled to begin on Armistice Day, November 11, but was postponed one day in honor of the burial of the Unknown Soldier whose body was brought from France and interred at Arlington Cemetery in the presence of a great and distinguished assemblage. The representatives of other nations who had come to discuss the question of the limitation of armaments bowed with the Americans, paying tribute to the dead soldier who typified the union of arms in a common cause.

It was a fitting prelude to the grave deliberations that were to follow, and was a presage of the harmony that prevailed thoughout the conference.

THE DELEGATES

On the morning of November 12 the delegates from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal, assembled in the Continental Memorial Hall of the building of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution. Following were the principal delegates:

United States: Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State; Elihu Root, former Senator and ex-Secretary of State; Henry Cabot Lodge, Senator from Massachusetts; Oscar W. Underwood, Senator from Alabama.

British Empire: Arthur J. Balfour, Lord President of the Council; Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty; Sir Robert Borden, Canada; Senator George F. Pearce, Australia; Srinivasa Sastri, India; J. W. Salmond, New Zealand; Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington, alternative delegate.

France: Aristide Briand, René Viviani, Albert Sarraut, Ambassador Jules Jusserand.

Japan: Prince Tokugawa, Admiral Kato, Baron Shidehara.

Italy: Carlo Schanzer, Ambassador Ricci, Filippo Meda, Luigi Albertini.

Netherlands: H. A. Van Karnebeek, F. Beelaerts van Blokland, Dr. E. Moresco.

Belgium: Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, Ambassador.

China: Dr. S. Alfred Sze, Wellington Koo, Wang Chung-hui.

Portugal: Viscount d'Alte.

THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

President Harding in a felicitous speech bade the delegates to the conference a cordial welcome to the capital of the United States.

"It is not possible to overappraise the importance of such a conference," said he. "It is no unseemly boast, no disparagement of other nations which, though not represented, are held in highest respect, to declare that the conclusions of this body will have a signal influence on all human progress—on the fortunes of the world.

"Here is a meeting, I can well believe, which is an earnest of the awakened conscience of twentieth century civilization. It is not a convention of remorse, nor a session of sorrow. It is not the conference of victors to define terms of settlement. Nor is it a council of nations seeking to remake humankind. It is rather a coming together from all parts of the earth, to apply the better attributes of mankind to minimize the faults in our international relationships.

"Speaking as official sponsor for the invitation, I

think I may say the call is not of the United States of America alone; it is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world, struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace.

"It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin—all these are appraised alike in all lands. Here in the United States we are but freshly turned from the burial of an unknown American soldier, when a nation sorrowed while paying him tribute.

"Whether it was spoken or not, a hundred millions of our people were summarizing the inexcusable cause, the incalculable cost, the unspeakable sacrifices, and the unutterable sorrows, and there was the ever-impelling question: How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and make good-will regnant everywhere.

"All of us demand liberty and justice. There cannot be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world today is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding.

"Out of the cataclysm of the World War came new fellowships, new convictions, new aspirations. It is ours to make the most of them. A world staggering with

debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity, which has been shocked by wanton destruction, would minimize the agencies of that destruction.

THE MILLIONS WHO PAY IN PEACE AND DIE IN WAR

"Contemplating the measureless cost of war and the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed. In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after.

"It is not alone that the world cannot readjust itself and cast aside the excess burdens without relief from the leaders of men. War has grown progressively cruel and more destructive from the first recorded conflict to this pregnant day, and the reverse order would more become our boasted civilization.

"Gentlemen of the conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone.

"We wish to sit with you at the table of international understanding and good-will. In good conscience we are eager to meet you frankly, and invite and offer coöperation. The world demands a sober contemplation of the existing order and the realization that there can be no cure without sacrifice, not by one of us, but by all of us.

"I do not mean surrendered rights, or narrowed freedom, or denied aspirations, or ignored national necessities. Our Republic would no more ask for these than it would give. No pride need be humbled, no nationality submerged, but I would have a mergence of minds committing all of us to less preparation for war and more enjoyment of fortunate peace.

"The higher hopes come of the spirit of our coming together. It is but just to recognize varying needs and peculiar positions. Nothing can be accomplished in disregard of national apprehensions. Rather, we should act together to remove the causes of apprehensions. This is not to be done in intrigue. Greater assurance is found in the exchanges of simple honesty and directness among men resolved to accomplish as becomes leaders among nations, when civilization itself has come to its crucial test.

"It is not to be challenged that government fails when the excess of its cost robs the people of the way to happiness and the opportunity to achieve. If the finer sentiments were not urging, the cold, hard facts of excessive cost and the eloquence of economics would urge to reduce our armaments. If the concept of a better order does not appeal, then let us ponder the burden and the blight of continued competition.

"It is not to be denied that the world has swung along throughout the ages without heeding this call from the kindlier hearts of men. But the same world never before was so tragically brought to realization of the utter futility of passion's sway when reason and conscience and fellowship point a nobler way.

"I can speak officially only for the United States. Our hundred millions frankly want less of armament

and none of war. Wholly free from guile, sure in our own minds that we harbor no unworthy designs, we accredit the world with the same good intent. So I welcome you, not alone in good-will and high purpose, but with high faith.

"We are met for a service to mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty and all honor, there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath. I hope for that understanding which will emphasize the guarantees of peace, and for commitments to less burdens and a better order which will tranquilize the world. In such an accomplishment there will be added glory to your flags and ours, and the rejoicing of mankind will make the transcending music of all succeeding time."

PRACTICAL PROGRAM

The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, was made permanent chairman of the Conference, and made a typical American address, speaking with the utmost candor. "We can no longer," said he, "content ourselves with investigation, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry . . . The world wants a practical program which shall at once be put into execution."

This declaration was greeted with a storm of applause from the gallery, which in itself was so unusual a feature of international gatherings that the delegates from both European and Asiatic countries looked with something suggesting alarm at those who had risen to their feet and were clapping their hands with resounding force. But presently the representatives entered into the enthusiastic spirit of the moment and joined their

applause with that of the spectators as the Secretary declared that delegates of the United States, acting under instructions of President Harding, would submit a concrete proposal for the immediate limitation of arms.

A burst of vehement cheering greeted Secretary Hughes' announcement that the United States contemplated nothing short of a naval holiday. "It is proposed," said he, "for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships." It was this declaration, made at the very beginning of the conference, that was flashed around the world and made the nations realize that the Americans meant business.

The American proposals for limitation of world armaments, as laid before the Conference by Secretary Hughes, called for suspension of all capital ship building programs, present and prospective, and for the scrapping of thousands of tons already built or being constructed.

Under this part of the proposals the United States would sacrifice a total of 845,740 tons, Great Britain 583,375 tons, and Japan 448,928 tons. Each nation would pledge itself not to build any new capital warships for a period of ten years. The only exception to this would lie in indispensable replacement building, and limitations were set to this as follows: United States, 500,000 tons; Great Britain, 500,000 tons; Japan, 300,000 tons.

The proposals named specifically the warships which each nation would possess after the execution of the whole plan. A special section of the proposals was devoted to auxiliary craft, certain categories of these being made exempt, and a definite limit of less than 500,000 tons being laid down for the United States and

Great Britain, Japan following with a limited tonnage of 270,000 tons.

FULFILLING THE HOPES OF THE PRESIDENT

Through almost three months the Conference deliberated on the details of the various questions that had to do with naval armaments, the peace of the Pacific, and Far Eastern problems. On February 6, 1922, the momentous conference was brought to an end, with the hopes of President Harding fulfilled to the letter.

Among the proposals which were agreed to and which took the form of treaties, subsequently ratified by the governments of the nations represented, were the following:

Navies: The naval treaty limits the capital ships—built, building, or planned—in the navies of the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, and provides for the scrapping of ships not retained. Aggregates for capital-ship replacement are: United States and Great Britain, 525,000 tons each; Japan, 315,000 tons; and France and Italy, 175,000 tons each.

Peace of the Pacific: The four powers, United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France, recognize as inviolable the rights and possessions of one another. This treaty automatically terminated the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Submarines and Poison Gas: The five powers, United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy, agree to the prohibition of submarines as commerce destroyers as among themselves, and invite all other nations to agree to the prohibition. Resolutions prohibiting the employment of "asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials and devices," were also included in this treaty.

China: The delegates agreed upon the "open door" policy for China, promising to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of that republic.

Besides many general agreements to "consult" among themselves when troublesome questions arise, the Conference set up a number of commissions to deal with such specific problems as extra-territorial rights in China, revision of the Chinese tariff, restoration of Kiao-Chau and Shantung rights to China, revision of the rules of warfare, and so forth.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S CONGRATULATIONS

These were the signal achievements of the great conference called by Warren Gamaliel Harding. Chief of them was the five-power naval limitation treaty by which the perilous competition in naval armament between the great powers, notably the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, and secondarily, France and Italy, was definitely ended for at least a decade, when the powers are to meet again to consider further limitation.

Warren Harding will not be at the next Washington Conference, but the spirit of the man who conceived and staged this magnificent pageant of peace will brood over the assembly and inspire the representatives of the world powers to still greater efforts to put an end to warfare.

In his address of February 6, summarizing the results of the Conference, President Harding said:

"This conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say, with every confidence, that the faith plighted here today,

kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress.

"Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world? Gathered about this table nine great nations of the earth—not all to be sure, but the most directly concerned with the problems at hand—have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril. In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world, without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or affronted national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity, and today's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished. If the world has hungered for new assurance, it may feast at the banquet which the conference has spread.

TRANSLATING THE CONSCIENCE OF CIVILIZATION

"I am sure the people of the United States are supremely gratified, and yet there is scant appreciation of how marvelously you have wrought. When the days were dragging and agreements were delayed, when there were obstacles within and hindrances without, few stopped to realize that here was a conference of sovereign powers where only unanimous agreement could be made the rule. Majorities could not decide without impinging on national rights. There were no victors to command, no vanquished to yield. All had voluntarily to agree in translating the conscience of our civilization and give concrete expression to world opinion.

"And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties, and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No

new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn, and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

"It has been the fortune of this conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace. Too often heretofore the decades following such gatherings have been marked by the difficult undoing of their decisions. But your achievement is supreme, because no seed of conflict has been sown, no reaction in regret or resentment ever can justify resort to arms.

"It little matters what we appraise as the outstanding accomplishment. Any one of them alone would have justified the conference. But the whole achievement has so cleared the atmosphere that it will seem like breathing the refreshing air of a new morn of promise.

"You have written the first deliberate and effective expression of great powers, in consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility, and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction. You have halted folly and lifted burdens and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

CONFERENCES, NOT CONFLICTS

"Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and

understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of enlightened civilization.

"I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better serviced in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

"How simple it all has been! When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation, except that which each delegation owed to the Government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling, and world opinion directing.

"No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationships among Governments and peoples, new securities for peace, and new opportunities for achievement and attending happiness.

"Since this conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace today, like conferences in the future, under appropriate conditions and with aims both well conceived and definite, may illume the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted, and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

"Again, gentlemen of the conference, congratulations and the gratitude of the United States. To Belgium, to the British Empire, to China, to France, to Italy, to Japan, to the Netherlands and to Portugal, I can wish no more than the same feeling which we experience, of honorable and honored contribution to happy

human advancement and a new sense of security in the righteous pursuits of peace and all attending good fortune.

"From our own delegates I have known from time to time of your activities and of the spirit of conciliation and of adjustment and the cheering readiness of all of you to strive for that unanimity so essential to accomplishment. Without it there would have been failure. With it you have heartened the world.

"And I know our guests will pardon me while I make grateful acknowledgment to the American delegation—to you, Mr. Secretary Hughes; to you, Senator Lodge; to you, Senator Underwood; to you, Mr. Root—to all of you for your able and splendid and highly purposed and untiring endeavors in behalf of our Government and our people; and to our excellent Advisory Committee which gave to you so dependable a reflex of that American public opinion which charts the course of this Republic.

"It is all so fine, so gratifying, so reassuringly full of promise, that above the murmurings of a world sorrow not yet silenced; above the groans which come of excessive burdens not yet lifted, but now to be lightened; above the discouragements of a world yet struggling to find itself after surpassing upheaval, there is the note of rejoicing, which is not alone ours or yours or of all of us, but comes from the hearts of men of all the world."

As a footnote it may be added that on August 17, 1923—just a week after President Harding's body was laid to rest at Marion—ratifications of the naval treaty and the Pacific treaty were exchanged at Washington. It was an historic moment, but in the shadow of the lamented Presidents death, the ceremony of the deposit of ratifications was of the simplest character.

Chapter XXI

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PHILIPPINES

AMERICA'S OBLIGATIONS—THE PRESERVATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PHILIPPINES THE DUTY OF AMERICA—HONORABLE WITHDRAWAL IMPOSSIBLE—GENERAL WOOD'S MISSION—THE CALL OF THE UNIVERSITY—PRESIDENT HARDING PERSUADES THE GENERAL TO REMAIN IN CHARGE

THERE was no note of selfishness in President Harding's dealings with the Philippines. Even as a Senator he was opposed to cutting the islands loose from the helpful hand of the United States. When we acquired the Philippine Islands the people of this country conceived the splendid vision of a great new republic developing under the tutelage of America. To the astonishment of the world, we poured out our money to provide education, to promote sanitation, and, in a word, to give the natives a chance to enjoy the privileges and comforts that have enhanced and enriched our own civilization on this continent.

It was a tremendous program and the people of the islands have made astonishing progress, but Mr. Harding felt that the time was all too short to work a complete transformation and he believed that if the friendly, helpful, neighborly hand of the United States were removed it would be a calamity for the Filipinos.

It was a cause that lay very close to his heart. McKinley had always been something of an idol to him, and he attributed to the inspiration of the martyred

President the humanitarian work done by America in the colonies wrested from Spanish control.

THE SENATE DEBATE

He was adverse to any let-down in the system of government that had been established in the Philippines, and when the question of turning the machinery of government over to the natives came up in the Senate he hotly protested. His speech on that occasion, January, 1916, set forth in striking fashion the views which he held then, and which he continued to hold when he was elevated from the Senate to the Presidency. Among other things he said:

"I have felt, naturally, the diffidence of a new member in undertaking to participate in the debate on the pending measure relating to the Philippine Islands. I have listened with that reverence which must come to one who is new in this chamber to the progress of the debate with rather conflicting emotions, until I have finally reached the conclusion that one from Ohio ought at least to give a reason for his vote, that one who comes from the state of him who led in placing our flag in the Philippines, and from the state of him who laid the foundation of our American civilization there, ought at least to voice his protest against the proposed bill.

"We are not moved in Ohio by that fear of the greed of the East, as suggested by the Senator from Arkansas, nor is the undercurrent of our dependable thought materially changed by the clamorous call for radical reformation. I think the current of thought in the great Middle West goes unerringly on, uninfluenced by either. Our judgment, as I have seen it attested in Ohio, is that the United States of America has no right

and has no reason to extend a benevolent protectorate over the Philippine Islands without control, and I, for one, Mr. President and Senators, mean to vote against the pending bill.

"There is a very familiar expression, Mr. President, originally uttered by a very distinguished member of this body long since gone. I think he was at the time troubled with the problem of the resumption of specie payments. In the course of his discussion of the problem in an administrative capacity, he uttered that famous dictum, 'The way to resume is to resume'; and I want to say that the way to grant Philippine independence is to grant it. If I should use the language sometimes used on the streets, I would say the practical way to grant the Philippine Islands their independence is to let them work out their own destiny.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AND POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT

"When the pending measure of the Senator from Nebraska was first under discussion in the Senate, the debate took rather a curious turn. I was very much interested in the persistent use of the word 'self-government.' Well, Mr. President, self-government is one thing and popular self-government is quite another thing. If we mean to grant the Philippine Islands their independence, it is none of our business what kind of government they have. It may well be an autocracy; it may be a despotism; they may prefer a dictatorship; or they may, and most likely will, attempt a republic like that of China, which recently flashed a moment on the firmament of republics as a sort of triumph of rational over dollar diplomacy, and then again faded from the firmament. What business is it of ours if the Filipino people

have the inalienable right of independence what kind of government they may choose to have? We accepted the sponsorship; and if that is binding, we have no right to set them adrift. If it is not binding, the majority in this chamber ought to vote unanimously to set them adrift at the earliest possible day; and I warn you, Senators on the opposite side of the house, that you are breeding trouble for the United States of America every day you delay doing so under the promises of the Democratic party.

"But, Mr. President, the question now on the amendment pending is not one on the character of government in the Philippine Islands; it is not what sort of a basic law or fundamental government we shall prescribe for them; it has come to be the great question of Philippine independence, and I am opposed to it, Mr. President, for two striking reasons. In the first place, the granting of Philippine independence changes the policy of the government of the United States of America from the very beginning. In the second place, it alters a policy of the United States of America for the last seventeen years, under which we have made the most magnificent contribution to the history of unselfish nationality or the unselfishness of nations that has ever been written.

"FOR HUMANITY'S SAKE"

"There is this to say of the United States of America: We are the first nation on the face of the earth that ever unsheathed the sword on behalf of suffering humanity. We did that in Cuba in 1898. Perhaps some one will question the statement. I grant that Congress in making its declaration of war had more in mind an act of revenge for the destruction of the battleship *Maine;*

but the great kindly soul that was at the head of this republic at that time put it on a higher plane. He disavowed any intention of the acquirement of territory, and literally went to war for humanity's sake. Then, out of the fortunes of that war, we acquired the Philippine Islands.

"Whatever else may be said—and it has been wonderfully emphasized in this debate—our work in the Philippine Islands in education, in sanitation, in elevation and civilization, has been the most magnificent contribution of a nation's unselfishness ever recorded in the history of the world. If it be true that in seventeen years we have schooled the Filipino people until they are quite fit for self-government, then we have made more advance for that people in seventeen years than they acquired in three centuries under the Spanish occupation. But this splendid achievement, Mr. President, has been lost sight of in the debate in this chamber amid a lot of fine phrases about 'inalienable right' and 'God-given liberty' and 'government without the consent of the governed' until I have come to the conclusion that the bronze statues of American Indians that make ornate some portions of this Capitol, would turn their stoical stares to sardonic smiles if they could only know.

"Why, we have never heretofore been seriously concerned about the 'consent of the governed.' We have not been speaking of it in a century and a third of American progress. There has been much recalling of the spirit of the American founding fathers. Mr. President, the man who likens the Philippine situation to that of the American colonies can find no real analogy. Independence was not the inspiration of the War of the Revolution. Nationality was not the impelling force

back of the War of the Revolution. It was the means of the preservation of independence when once we had achieved it. Note the difference, if you please. There is no ground for outcry about oppression in the Philippines. We were grieving against the mother country because of unjust taxation; we were grieving because of a denial of our participation in the commerce of the world. In the Philippine case, if the debates on this floor have stated the facts, we have not only kept aloof from unjust taxation, but we have been prodigal in the expenditure of federal funds in their behalf.

HONORABLE WITHDRAWAL IMPOSSIBLE

"Mr. President, the debate on the Philippine bill has served to develop the infinite difficulty of making an honorable retirement. I think it is impossible for us honorably to withdraw. I think it is impossible, first, because of our obligations to the Filipino nation, so much interested in the last quarter of a century in uplift work, so deeply interested in the uplifting of a downtrodden people.

"In the next place, without going further into the discussion, I think we can not retire because of the obligations to ourselves and to the other nations of the earth. I do not wish to discuss, Mr. President, this question from what seems to be a selfish view-point, but one can not be in this chamber without catching the aspirations of the American people. I know what is in our hearts. It is in every official message; somehow or other it is the desire of every patriotic American. Here is a nation with limitless resources; here is a nation excelling in genius; here is a nation unmatched in industry; and everything that is proposed in this body is

designed to aid and encourage the widening of American influence and make us a dominant commercial and industrial nation. Well, if that be true, I want to ask what field, other than South America, offers greater attractions than the Orient? And if we are to go into the Orient for an expansion of commerce and trade, I fancy that the possession of these rich islands, the Philippine Archipelago, will be very much to our advantage.

EDUCATION FIRST

"One more phase. I do not believe that it disparages the citizenship of the Philippine Islands to question their capacity for self-government. I am not always sure that we have that capacity ourselves in these boasted United States. But whether we have or not, the Filipino people have been accustomed to our spirit of civilization for only seventeen years. I grant that the islands have their college graduates; I grant that they have their brave men, their brilliant leaders; but Manila is not the Philippine Islands. I grant, Mr. President, that there are 600,000 children in the schools of the islands, rollicking in a laughter that is the echo of our own in these United States, and walking in the light of opening opportunity. But 600,000 in the schools out of a population of 8,000,000 is a mighty poor guarantee of a dependable autonomy. Before we think of such a thing, let us not only have 600,000 children in the schools of the Philippine Islands, but, under American education and occupation, and sponsorship, let us have 2,000,000 Philippine children in the schools. Then the pathway will open for a higher civilization, and with it a devotion to the nation that led the way.

"Mr. President, in the determination of this ques-

tion of Philippine independence, we do one of two things: We determine to call in the outposts and narrow, if we can, the influences of American civilization to our own shores; or we determine to go courageously and unfalteringly on, spreading our boasted American civilization throughout the world.

"I have sometimes wondered what the impelling influence has been. I know very well that a nation leading in civilization and in that uplifting work which contributes to the weal of humanity can no more limit its influence to its territorial or coast-bound sphere than can the man who stands high in his community, and has the character and the attributes that make him an influence in the activities of the world.

MISSIONARIES OF AMERICANISM

"It seems to me, if it has been our privilege and our boast that we have established and developed the best popular government on the face of the earth, that we ought to go on with the same thought that impelled Him who brought a plan of salvation to the earth. Rather than confine it to the limitations of the Holy Land alone, He gathered His disciples about Him and said, 'Go ye and preach the gospel to all the nations of the earth.' Let us stop and think before we alter the policy of these United States. Let us not think about the selfish side of commerce and industry alone. Let us ask ourselves if the time has not come when it is befitting to return a vigorous, persistent, conscience-founded determined Americanism; and clad in our convictions of conscientiousness and righteousness, let us go on, Mr. President and Senators, in our efforts to fulfill the destinies of what I believe to be the best republic on earth."

THE APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL WOOD AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL

When he came to be President, Mr. Harding made an investigation of conditions in the Philippines and came to the conclusion that the strong, helpful hand of the United States was needed in the government of the islands. He appointed Major-General Leonard Wood governor-general, picking an able soldier and administrator who with W. Cameron Forbes, a former governor-general, had been sent on a tour of inspection in the islands.

General Wood, it may be added, had been a candidate for the Republican nomination in 1920, but there was the utmost good-will between him and President Harding. The new governor-general found his task one of extreme difficulty. It was not long, however, before favorable reports began to come in, and a new era of prosperity for the islands was predicted.

In the midst of General Wood's work there came a call from the University of Pennsylvania asking him to become the head of that great institution of learning. The General accepted, but asked for leave of absence until September, 1921. It became evident, however, as the months went by, that his wise counsel and guiding hand would be needed for a considerable time, and at the earnest pleading of Mr. Harding he resigned from the presidency of the university and, like a good soldier, stayed at his post in the Orient.

Chapter XXII

THE PARTY MAN

A BELIEVER IN REFORM FROM THE INSIDE—THE GLEE CLUB AND THE PARTY—OPPONENT OF GROUP DOMINATION—ADMIRER OF MCKINLEY

WARREN G. HARDING was always a Republican. He conceived the American system of representative popular government to be founded upon the principle of responsible political parties; preferably two, so nearly equal in strength that each would act as an admonitory force upon the other. He realized that not all men would or could think alike on fundamental issues of public policy. At the very beginning of our constitutional career as a nation the people had been divided into two great parties, Federalists and Anti-Federalists; and as issues changed with the development of the country these were succeeded by other parties, bearing different names. He had carefully considered the distinctive principles of the two great parties of his day, the Republican and the Democratic, and he found himself in accord with those of the former. Accordingly all his life he affiliated himself with the Republican party.

That does not mean that he always blindly followed the leaders of that party or subscribed to all its proposals. More than once or twice while Senator he differed with and voted against the majority of his Republican colleagues, and when President he did not hesitate to veto a bill which had been passed by the votes of a majority

of the Republican members. Yet he was always a "regular" party man, so much that in 1912 he was selected to be one of its chief spokesmen against the "Progressive" schism, and again in 1916 was chosen to be the most important spokesman of the reunited party.

His belief was that whenever the party needed reform or renovation of any kind, the work could be done far better within the party than by going outside of it. He was himself of liberal and progressive inclinations, and contributed materially to the promotion of such movements within the party.

THE GLEE CLUB AND THE POLITICAL PARTY

His views on party membership, duties and responsibilities were informally but clearly expressed by him after he had become President, on the occasion of a brief visit to the Ohio State capital, when there was being celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Columbus Republican Glee Club, a noteworthy politico-musical organization which had been conspicuous in the campaign which elected him President. He said:

"Men get into the current of political life, and then promotion comes—some call it a call to office—through the activity of many devoted friends. In 1910, when I was defeated for Governor of Ohio, my one sorrow was that I could make no return for the sacrifices of my friends. Changing political fortunes made me Senator and then President. Even with the power of the Presidency a man can make only a very scant return for those who have done so much for him, except as he contributes to the welfare of the common country.

"If this Glee Club had not had a soul, it could not

have sung together for these fifty years. I wish it could bring into the party its spirit of service as a party organization. If it didn't believe in party and its men, it couldn't sing worth a continental. If it took the slant that some are taking nowadays, the sopranos would demand special attention because they sang soprano; altos demanding consideration because they sang alto, and tenors and basses likewise. There would be no harmony in the glee club, and soon there would be no glee club.

"The trouble in public life and in our party is that the basses insist on attracting attention to themselves instead of singing for public good, for party good, instead of singing in harmony. I don't care to be a soloist just because I am President; but somebody has to do the directing. If men are not willing to sing in measure and score and the director's plan of harmony, there will not be much singing.

"We would be a lot more efficient if all those who wore the badge were Republicans at heart and willing to serve the party. For parties are the agencies of power, and the party for which the glee club is singing is now the sponsor of the government."

AN ADVOCATE OF "INTELLIGENT" CONVENTIONS

He was sufficiently old-fashioned to believe in direct appeals to the people for political direction, through representative conventions whose members were chosen by the people. Speaking at the annual banquet of the League of Republican State Clubs, at Washington, in December, 1922, he expressed himself as longing for more of the old party spirit that existed in Lincoln's time, and for a larger measure of the old forms of party

government. "I feel like praying," he said, "for the return of intelligent conventions. I would rather have the appeal to the convention than the appeal of the individual to his locality. Individualism and personality will always wield their influence, but I firmly believe in the collective wisdom of the convention."

To him the supreme touchstone of every public measure and of every party principle and issue was that of right or wrong. He loved to be successful, whether in getting elected to office or in getting a bill passed in which he was interested. But he always let it be clearly perceived that he valued righteousness above success. His first thought of every measure was not Can it be passed? but Is it right, and for the best welfare of the people?

In the Congressional campaign of 1922, at the middle of his term of office, he was naturally deeply interested, since its result was bound to be regarded largely as the country's verdict upon his Administration—though in fact it was its judgment upon Congress, which was a very different thing, since he and Congress were more than once at loggerheads. But interested as he was, he made it clear that he would not go on the stump or otherwise participate actively in the various contests. He did not conceive it to be the duty of the President thus to engage in electioneering.

He was a firm believer in the distinctive Republican policy of a protective tariff, but, with the changed and still changing conditions of trade and commerce which confronted him in the Presidency he recognized the need of adapting the tariff system to their peculiar requirements, and also of having a flexible tariff which could be changed at will within certain limits. Accord-

ingly he approved the flexible provisions of the new tariff law which was enacted in 1922. "It has seemed to me," he said, "that the varying conditions in the world, and the unusual conditions following the World War, make it extremely essential that we have this means of adapting our tariff to meet the new conditions."

AN OPPONENT OF GROUP DOMINATION

Toward organized labor he was always friendly and sympathetic, and it was his just pride that in twenty-five years he had never had the slightest trouble with the employees in his printing office. Nevertheless he condemned strongly any abuses of the power of organized labor, and stood resolutely for the right of the individual to join a union or not, and to work wherever he could get employment

When the hideous massacre of non-union workmen, "strikebreakers," occurred at Herrin, Illinois, he spoke severely against the crime. At his home town of Marion on the Fourth of July, 1922, he said of it: "The foremost thought in the Constitution is the right to freedom and the pursuit of happiness. Men must be free to live and achieve. Liberty is gone in America when any man is denied by anybody the right to work and to live by that work. It does not matter who does the denying. A free American has the right to labor without any other's leave. It would be no less an abridgement to deny men the right to bargain collectively. Government cannot tolerate any class or group domination through force. It would be a sorry day when group domination was reflected in our laws. Government and the laws which government is charged with enforcing must be for all the people, ever aiming at the common good."

The same sturdy common sense and logic marked his attitude toward the so-called Volstead Act for the enforcement of the Prohibition amendment. He had not approved all its provisions, but since it had been enacted, until it was repealed or modified it was the duty of every law-abiding citizen to seek its enforcement. "The Eighteenth Amendment," he said, "denies to a minority a fancied sense of personal liberty. But the Amendment is the will of America and must be sustained by the government and public opinion, lest contempt for the law undermine our very foundations." Again, condemning certain forms of agitation, he said: "My one outstanding conviction, after sixteen months in the Presidency, is that the greatest traitor to his country is he who appeals to prejudice and inflames passion, when sober judgment and honest speech are so necessary to firmly establish tranquillity and security."

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

He was in accord with the great majority of his party in resolutely opposing government ownership of railroads or other industries, not conceiving such business operations to be a proper function of government. He was likewise opposed to government control of the railroads, save, of course, such as was exercised under the common laws of the land, and to government operation. He favored the consolidation of the railroads of the country into a small number of great systems. If that did not afford solution of the problems which then beset the transportation business of the country, it might be necessary, he feared, to make the experiment of government operation. But this, he said, he hoped the United States would forever escape. It would be, he added,

"a colossal blunder, which would destroy initiative, infect us with political corruption, create regional jealousies, and impose incalculable loss upon the public treasury."

AN ADMIRER OF MCKINLEY

He was always a great admirer of the martyred McKinley, and it was on an occasion of one of his addresses on the slain President that he voiced the conviction that the abandonment of government through political parties meant an autocracy or dictatorship which would spell the end of our boasted republic. Speaking of William McKinley, Mr. Harding said:

"He was notably a partisan, a partisan Republican. He was the most representative Republican of his day. He believed in popular government through the agency of political parties, and believed in his party as the agency of greatest good to the American people. He was considerate, tolerant, courteous, but ever a partisan Republican. He did not believe his party had a monopoly on all that was good or patriotic, but he did believe it capable of best serving our common country, and its policies best suited to promote our common good fortune. His was an outstanding personality, lovable and admirable, but his strength was that of a party spokesman, and his great decisions came of Republican counsel.

"Whether it was the solution of a pressing problem at home, whether it was maintained honor and fully met obligations in our foreign relations, whether it was the continued advancement of all our people, William McKinley was ever found committed to a sane and workable plan. It is not unbecoming to say that when anarchy struck him down and Theodore Roosevelt took up his burdens, he instantly announced he would con-

tinue the policies of his illustrious predecessor, and won the confidence and affection of America in doing so. It dims the glory of neither to recall it. They differed in type, ofttimes in methods, but accomplished greatly because they voiced the dominant party in the republic.

"Perhaps it is old-fashioned, maybe it seems to be reactionary, but I voice a deliberate conviction that the abandonment of government through political parties means the same instability for us which characterizes many Central American and South American states, or it means an autocracy or dictatorship which spells the end of our boasted republic. No one will deny abuses and disappointments in our established political system, but it made us what we are, and all the world has yet to match the record of American development and accomplishment. We had better correct the abuses than to risk the abandonment of the system.

"Conditions change, new problems arise, new policies are necessary. I had rather trust the majority in any party than rely on any outstanding personality in any party, super-man or otherwise. This decision by the majority is the underlying theory of representative popular government and makes our government sanely responsive to deliberate and dependable public opinion. If there is failure of our party to-day to meet the fullest expectations of the American people, it is due in the main to the fact that we have so-called Republicans in our ranks and some of them in authority who seek to make the party policy, and failing in that, assume a superiority to party judgment. Such a course not only endangers party success at the polls, but destroys party effectiveness in official performance. I commend independence and fearlessness of thought, but I invite the party devo-

tion of McKinley as the highest guaranty of kept pledges and helpful accomplishment."

Although a firm believer in party government, Warren Harding did not subscribe to the policy of "My party, right if possible, but my party right or wrong." He believed in political machinery, but he refused to be a creature of the machine. He had his own fine standards, and did not hesitate to give expression to them, whether his party approved or not. Particularly in his last speeches did he voice his high ethical sentiments in phrases that had a rich spiritual significance.

This devout spirit, together with the vigorously expressed political independence, seemed not in the least incongruous in a thorough-going "regular" party man; because the transcendent sincerity of the man dominated every phase of his character and every varied activity of tongue or hand. He was a "party" man, but the man was always superior to the party.

Chapter XXIII

THE PRESIDENT AND THE FARMERS

THE AGRICULTURAL BLOC—MEETING THE FARMERS HALF WAY—HIS FRANK TALKS ON THE SITUATION—THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY

IT is a curious fact about the Harding administration that the matter which would have seemed to present the least difficulties was, on the whole, the most vexations to handle and the least satisfactory in results. That was the matter of the relation between the administration and the farmers of the country. We have already seen that the President was raised a practical farmer and that he knew the problems of the farm intimately from first-hand knowledge.

The natural conclusion from this state of affairs would be that the farmers of the country would recognize him as one of themselves and would have more sympathy for him and more confidence in him than any other class of people would, so that they might have understood each other from the start and have been able to go along together in perfect accord.

That was not the case, however. It is probable that the President and his party gave more attention to relieving the condition of the farmer than to any other single subject, and yet the results were not satisfactory. During the last year of his administration the President saw radical discontent bred by the farm situation sweep many a former Republican stronghold in the Middle West. Only a few weeks before his death this move-

ment reached its climax in the defeat of the Republican Governor Preus for the Senate in Minnesota and the election of Magnus Johnson, Farmer-Labor party candidate, who had capitalized agrarian dissatisfaction.

In this matter of the farmers' revolt, which has grown into the overwhelming fact of present-day domestic politics, it is only fair to say that President Harding was the victim of circumstances, and there is little doubt that that will be posterity's verdict on the issue.

The agricultural problem was one of the inheritances of the World War. Before the war, Russia had been the world's greatest producer of wheat, with the United States a close second. India had come third, but this position came to be rated as Canada's by 1921.

With the world cataclysm in 1914 Russia ceased to be a wheat-exporting country. The United States and Canada between them were called upon to make up the shortage and their production was greatly stimulated by the demands of the nations of Western Europe in war time.

What was under-production in war time to the extent that we used bread-rationing even in this country, became over-production after the end of the war as Europe began to be able to supply a great part of her need herself. Furthermore, foreign economic conditions and depreciated exchange did not, and do not yet, favor large wheat imports. And so the wheat-growers of America found themselves with a glutted domestic market and no outlet for their surplus.

The result, of course, was a lowering of the price the farmers could get for their wheat. A similar condition prevailed with regard to other crops. The result was disastrous for the farmer. Finance, commerce and

manufacture could adjust themselves within a reasonable time to the new conditions. Agriculture could not. Therefore the years 1920 and 1921 in particular were years of profound depression for the farmer and the effect has not even yet worn off, though now the outlook is more hopeful.

MEETING THE FARMERS HALF WAY

Facing the desperate condition they faced, it is no wonder the farmers of the country were automatically solidified into an army of discontent and protest. And, being in that frame of mind, it is no wonder they did what people in that frame of mind always do, blamed the persons in control of the government at the moment. Thus the Harding administration had to bear the brunt of a condition it was not primarily responsible for, and which it was doing all it could to remedy.

That the President and his advisers were not insensible to the difficulties of the agricultural situation is testified to by the fact that one of the very first things Mr. Harding did after his nomination was to seek to reassure the farmers as to his knowledge of their difficulties and his desire to alleviate them.

Thus we find that on June 19, 1920, just a week after his nomination, he took time in that period of immense pressure on a new-made Presidential candidate to make a luncheon engagement with a group of agricultural editors who had been called to Washington for the purpose. After that luncheon-conference Samuel Adams, editor of the *American Fruit Grower*, was deputized to make a public statement, which he did in the following terms:

"We were unanimously convinced of Senator Hard-

ing's thorough knowledge and sympathetic attitude toward the problems of the American farmer. We feel sure that with his keen insight into the difficulties confronting the agriculturists in this country, most of the greater problems will be solved in the right way under Senator Harding's administration, if he is elected, which we expect. Many of the most important pending problems before the American farmer were discussed, and the information Senator Harding has on these questions, together with his insistent Americanism, is most encouraging to us."

These men had been sent to "look the Presidential candidate over" and their verdict was broadcast among the agricultural interests, then highly sensitive to the difficulties and dangers of their future prospects. The reaction was favorable. It was no less favorable later when the President appointed as his Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace of Des Moines, Iowa, a practical farmer and breeder, professor of agriculture, and farm editor.

The first and most immediate difficulty the President faced was the resentment of the farmers at the deflation policy of the Federal Reserve Board. While this policy had been undertaken for the benefit of the business of the country in general, and while it is recognized that it contributed in considerable degree to the recovery that finance, industry and trade made from the war depression, it bore down on the farmer because it restricted his credits.

To counteract this the President and the Republican Congress revived the War Finance Corporation, which President Wilson had refused to do, and gave it a credit of $1,000,000,000. Of this amount $400,000,000 was

loaned to farming and live-stock interests. It was a primary point of Republican policy that the one-crop condition of war times, which had led to overproduction of wheat, should be altered and the normal balance between live-stock and the various kinds of grain production be restored.

These steps had tended to regain for American agriculture what little foreign market it could hope to obtain. The President then set about protecting the home market. The Emergency Tariff with high rates of protection on farm products was very shortly passed.

THE AGRICULTURAL BLOC

Throughout his efforts at agricultural revival the President acted in conjunction with the "farm bloc" and with the various agricultural organizations.

One of the early steps taken was to renew the activity of the Federal Farm Loan Board, which was given an appropriation of $50,000,000 and resumed loaning on farm property.

Among the farm relief measures enacted by Congress and approved by the President were a bill to facilitate coöperative marketing of farm products; legislation to prevent gambling in "futures"; an act to control and regulate the meat packers; reduction of freight rates on some agricultural products; removal of the $10,000 loan limit for Federal Land Banks and increase to $25,000; and a series of laws encouraging irrigation projects under government direction and permitting the farmers longer time for paying their cost.

But what President Harding considered the most important contribution to agricultural relief was the Agricultural Credit Act of 1923.

He explained his belief in its importance by saying that bank loans not only for capital expenditures but for operating expenses were the backbone of ordinary business and industry and that the system of banking had been built up through the ages without proper consideration of the part the farming industry should have in it.

The object of the new system, he said, was to provide for this need of the farmer. And it was based not on his need to acquire land and a plant for farming, which could be tended to under the Federal Farm Loan System, with its long-term loans on farm mortgages, but on his need to finance his operating expenses with longer loans than those ordinarily obtainable from the banks, whose operations were based on the quicker processes of business and commercial turn-over.

It is perhaps not necessary to go into the details of this legislation. Its organic features are that it sets up twelve Intermediate Credit Banks which may discount farmers' notes taken by local banks and loan on personal and chattel security, such as live-stock, farm equipment, growing crops and the like; and that it also authorizes National Agricultural Credit Corporations which are to be set up by private capital under governmental supervision to perform almost similar functions.

FRANK TALKS ON THE SITUATION

In the address he devoted to explaining what the administration had done for the farmers, delivered in Hutchinson, Kansas, on June 23, during his fateful trip to Alaska, Mr. Harding thus summed up the benefits he ascribed to "the crowning achievement of the entire list", the Agricultural Credit Act:

"There is thus created at last a complete farm credit system which, drawing together the aggregated responsibility of the greatest single industry in the land, backed by the security of the land and of live-stock, warehoused and growing crops, all kinds of agricultural equipment; and, finally, by the character and high responsibility of the men and women who constitute the great agricultural community, will be capable of furnishing the American farmers for the first time in the history of agriculture in any country, adequate investment and working capital on terms as favorable as those accorded to commerce and industry."

In the Hutchinson speech the President very specifically pointed out that his principle in seeking to solve the agricultural problem is that it is first and foremost a problem of financing and credits. In other words, he would rear a structure that will let the farmer do business on as favorable terms with respect to his financing as the large merchant or the great industry and then let individual ability and initiative dispose of the question of prices and operating costs, backed by a fundamentally fair system of credit aids.

He pointed out that many people are skeptical of systems which seek remedies through any other means than providing higher prices for farm products. But he reiterated his belief that fundamental to obtaining fair prices was a correct and elastic system of credits.

There is an important point. Most of the opposition to the President's farm program has come from those who seek to solve the problem at the other end, by providing some means of getting higher prices. Among them are the recent proposal of the American Farm Bureau Federation that the President advise the

farmers in one of his speeches to withhold 200,000,000 bushels of wheat from the market in order to stabilize the price at $1.40 to $1.50 a bushel—which the President did not do. Another proposal in similar principle is that the less fine grades of wheat be fed to cattle instead of marketed.

No fair-minded person, however, can consider the President's policy without the feeling that he has offered something fundamental and constructive. His speech at Hutchinson had a great effect in disseminating even among the farmers themselves a better understanding than had previously prevailed of what was being done in a well-ordered and logical way to build up the agricultural structure of the nation.

When the speech came to be discussed generally, there was a feeling that it may well have created a new viewpoint for the country on the farm problem. It would have been a matter of the most intense interest, had he lived, to observe how the question would work out from where he left it at Hutchinson. Certainly enough has been said to show that this problem was regarded by him as one of the greatest, if not actually the greatest, which faced the nation in domestic matters, and that he had devoted to it the utmost consideration and the deepest effort at solution of which he was capable.

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HARDING AS A COWBOY

The President hitting the trail in Zion National Park, Utah, in true cowboy fashion. An incident of his journey to the Pacific Coast and Alaska

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THE OREGON TRAIL MONUMENT

The dedication by President Harding of the Old Oregon Trail Monument at Immigration Springs, Oregon, during a brief halt in his last journey

Chapter XXIV

THE COAL AND RAILROAD STRIKES

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE—CONFERENCE OF MINERS AND OPERATORS—THE UNITED STATES COAL COMMISSION—THE RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS—THE INJUNCTION—ARBITRATION AND AGREEMENTS

IN the field of industrial relations there were troubles for the President, as there were in agriculture. The coal and railroad shopmen's strikes were two of the most trying incidents of his administration, none the less so because toward the end of their course they were going on simultaneously.

They were particularly troublesome because they represented formidable obstacles to the economic recovery of the nation, which was then beginning to see light ahead in general business conditions for the first time after the war depression.

The coal strike began on April 1, 1922. The whole country was much concerned, as it was recognized the battle would be a bitter one, the contest taking on bitterness because it was one of the most spectacular efforts organized labor as a whole was making to resist the deflation of wartime wages and the advance of the open-shop movement.

But, after all, it was April. While industry might be alarmed over its coal supply, the average citizen recognized he would not have to fill the household bin for some months. So the average citizen did not become as excited at first as he was later destined to be.

The first sign of President Harding's intention to take action came late in April, when Attorney-General Daugherty suddenly appeared at Indianapolis making investigations. About April 26 it began to be rumored in the newspapers the President had a plan. But for some time the negotiations were confined to official representatives of operators and miners, who were not making a conspicuous success of them.

There will be no attempt made here to trace the highly complicated and long-drawn developments in the situation. We shall only consider a few of the high spots as they affect the President's relation with the strike.

CONFERENCE OF MINERS AND OPERATORS

The first of these is his calling a conference of miners and operators on July 1st, the strike then having lasted three months without any signs of settlement, and warning them of government intervention unless a remedy were found shortly.

On July 10th he made a proposal of settlement, asking the miners to return to work at the wage scale applicable on April 1st until a special commission could offer arbitration on a permanent wage scale and there could be a Federal investigation of the situation.

There were no results from the steps he had taken thus far and, the situation having been made more tense by the Herrin massacre of June 22d, Mr. Harding began to meditate more drastic steps. He sent a telegram to the Governors of the coal-producing states on July 18th, urging them to reopen the mines under proper safeguards, and implying that Federal troops would be sent to preserve order if the states could not secure it themselves.

In the meantime other strenuous efforts to adjust the situation had come from those within and without the industry seeking to effect a settlement, and the President's attempts were postponed awaiting their outcome.

This is the period in which the proposal to establish a fact-finding commission was being urged and the President took a hand in shaping it. On August 22d, Representative S. E. Winslow introduced into the House a bill embodying the Harding recommendations for such a body. Senator Borah had a bill on the same subject and readjustments were made. It resulted in the measure being passed in Congress and signed by the President on September 23d.

After the Winslow bill had been put in, Mr. Harding's thoughts apparently ran to more immediate action toward ending the strike. On August 26th he conferred with a group of his advisers on board the *Mayflower* and it was reported the project of the government's seizing the mines was being actively discussed.

The next day Senator Pepper secretly interviewed Samuel D. Warriner, a leading spokesman for the operators, and the President with equal lack of publicity conferred with Attorney-General Daugherty, Secretary Hoover, Senator Cummins and Representative Winslow. It was supposed all these discussions related to the seizing of the mines and excitement ran high for the moment.

The administration never actually took the step. Whether it was the rumor of intention or something else that produced it, there was hastening of the negotiations and finally, during the second week in September, the strike came to an end.

THE SETTLEMENT

It was practically settled on the basis of the miners' demands. In a formal statement on September 11th the American Federation of Labor characterized the terms of the coal strike settlement as the greatest victory ever won by labor.

Out of the strike came the United States Coal Commission as the permanent product. Mr. Harding named John Hays Hammond as its chairman and former Vice-President Marshall as one of the members. This body took a leading part in the negotiation of the new anthracite wage agreement in July and August, 1923, and the events which grew out of it, and was believed by its sponsors, of which Mr. Harding was one, to represent the force which for some time to come would be the body around which would revolve future attempts at government intervention in the coal situation.

THE RAILROAD LABOR BOARD

The beginning of the railroad shopmen's strike came on July 1, 1922, when the agitation over the coal strike was at its height. There had been rumblings of discontent for some months previous. On June 1st the chiefs of sixteen brotherhood divisions had been summoned to Cincinnati to decide on a wage policy for the railroad unions.

The June convention of the American Federation of Labor had urged defiance of the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. During these months the Esch-Cummins Act was several times considered and union fervor had even run to the extent of having denounced the President as a foe of organized labor.

The President's policy in handling the railroad

strike was to seek to uphold the power of the Railroad Labor Board. On August 19th, so unsatisfactory had the situation become that he made a special address to Congress, advocating a broader governmental control, receiverships over ineffective roads, and mandatory power for the Railroad Labor Board, which had been stripped in Congress of any power to enforce its decisions except by an appeal to public opinion.

The sensational development of the railroad strike came when Attorney-General Daugherty appeared personally before Federal Judge Wilkerson in Chicago and obtained a drastic temporary injunction barring all interference with railroad property or workers. The Attorney-General's action aroused great hostility among the workers.

On the other hand, the railroad executives were very sharp in their criticism of the President when he made his own proposal for determining seniority rights of employes who had struck and when he received a delegation of leaders of brotherhoods other than shopmen who came to protest against alleged danger to their lives in manning trains defectively equipped because union shopmen had not made the repairs.

It seems to follow, therefore, that if the President pleased neither side he must have come fairly close to directing his course on a line midway between them. His toleration of the Daugherty injunction proceedings was only obtained when he deemed it necessary to keep trains running, and he assented to it in line with his principle that the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board should be sustained. At the outset, the Board had declared the striking shopmen outlaws.

The strike came to a close late in September and this

time there were no jubilations expressed by the labor leaders. Subsequently, on the question of recognition of "company unions" by some of the railroads, Mr. Harding expressed condemnation for their course in not accepting the verdict of the Labor Board.

This sentiment found expression at the time when he made his last public expression on the subject of labor. This was during his trip to Alaska. When he reached Helena, Montana, on his way to the Coast, he made this speech, Helena being the center of a great industrial region where the conflict between capital and labor has always been acute and often bloody.

In the section of his speech in which he dwelt on the railroad labor problem, he reiterated his belief in the efficacy of the Railroad Labor Board. He indicated, however, that he thought the powers of the board would have to be increased and he rapped the railroads which had refused to accept its decision.

"It was believed that in the vast majority of cases," he said, "this procedure [the procedure of the Labor Board] would prevent lock-outs and strikes; and, in view of the enormous loss to the carriers, to their employes and to the public, resulting from strikes, I profoundly regret that it should not have been possible to give the plan a fair trial. When I say a fair trial, I mean a trial under conditions fully and frankly acceptable to all interests.

"I do not believe that in such a situation a fair trial is possible unless both sides have absolute confidence in the fairness of the tribunal and are sincerely willing to accept its verdict. If human wisdom shall ever be capable of setting up such a tribunal as that, and of insuring both sides to the controversy with complete

fairness in it, we will have traveled a long way toward industrial peace.

"Personally, I have confidence that the thing is possible. I believe so firmly in the underlying common sense of both organized industry and organized labor, and in the fairness toward both on the part of the great public on which both of them are finally dependent, that I believe at last it will be possible to arrive at settlement of all industrial disputes in public services by such a method. Let me say, so plainly that there will be no misunderstanding, that in most disputes which end in strikes or lock-outs, I do not believe the difference which at last divided the two sides very often represents any underlying question of human rights and human justice."

When he made that speech, Mr. Harding did not know it would be his last extended utterance on industrial justice. But since it was, it may fittingly be taken as a kind of summing-up of his matured view, as what he might perhaps have written as his creed on proper relations between capital and labor had he been asked to do so.

Chapter XXV

HARDING, THE MAN

THE GENEROUS HUMAN SPIRIT OF THE MAN—A DEEP, PERSONAL RELIGION—HIS LOVE OF CHILDREN—HUMANNESS OF HIS PUBLIC POLICIES—"W. G."—JUST FOLKS

OF one of the greatest of our Presidents, one of the greatest of our poets wrote these lines:

"Great captains, with their guns and drums,
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These are all gone, and, standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame.
The kindly-earnest, brave, farseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our new soil, the first American."

This tribute is not without its application to Warren G. Harding. While he probably never will rank with Lincoln, he was as perhaps no other President since Lincoln has been—

"The kindly-earnest, brave, farseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame."

The popular response to the character of our late President was a surprise to many clever observers of public affairs. How did it happen that this unpretentious man, so simple in his tastes, so democratic in his associations, so humble and unassuming in the dignities of his great office, had in two and a half years gained a hold on the affections of the American people surpassed by few of

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THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY EN ROUTE TO VANCOUVER

An interesting group on board the U. S. S. "Henderson" on the way to British Columbia and Alaska. This photograph was taken shortly before the President's health became impaired and his sudden last illness was announced

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PRESIDENT HARDING IN ALASKA

In order to study the problems of this distant territory at first hand, Mr. Harding determined to visit Alaska and talk with the people themselves with regard to their needs. The photograph shows the party at Tunnel in front of a typical Alaskan hotel

the great men who had enjoyed nation-wide popularity for a whole generation? It is perhaps too early to attempt to answer a question which will be clarified in the perspective of history.

THE GENEROUS HUMAN SPIRIT OF THE MAN

In the spirit of the man, however, shines out one quality that can hardly escape a high place in the evaluation that history will finally give him. Mr. Harding had in him a broad, kindly, generous humanity not unlike that which endears Lincoln to all the world. He loved children; his domestic life was sweet in a comradeship that set a wholesome example at a time of wavering ideals; he stood uncompromisingly for human betterment as is witnessed in his championship of the eight-hour day for steel workers; he was a kind and generous employer; his religion was to him a vital, personal life rather than a ceremonial observance; he loved his fellow man and sought the contacts through personal associations and fraternal orders that brought him into intimate and friendly relations free from the distinction which his exalted position warranted. As the man, Warren Gamaliel Harding, he was mourned at his death as much as he was as the President who fell because he devoted himself too unreservedly to the discharge of the duties of his great office.

A DEEP, PERSONAL RELIGION

An appreciation of Mr. Harding's deep faith in divine guidance is essential to an understanding of the man. Carlyle has well emphasized the fact, exemplified nowhere better than in Mr. Harding, that a man's religion essentially *is* the man. Who can estimate the influence

of so simple an example of unaffected piety as was shown when he closed his moving speech at the grave of America's unknown soldier by leading the vast audience in the recital of the Lord's Prayer?

The following report by Mr. David Lawrence, the well-known chronicler of public affairs, is significant.

"As Harding passes on he leaves a hitherto untold conception of the Presidency.

"He believed American Presidents frequently were under divine guidance. Recently he told friends he felt a conscious spiritual influence on his actions.

"Returning on the *Leviathan* are many who knew Mr. Harding intimately. One relates a conversation held before the Western trip at the White House.

"Callers had said Lincoln often gave the impression of being divinely inspired and Harding's intuitional decisions on bewildering matters, and his constant reference to divinity in speeches, similarly were buttressed by the conviction God was pointing out the right course.

" 'Have you been conscious of that?' was asked of the President.

" 'Yes, I have thought about it a great deal,' was his reply. 'I have often thought it was fated by a higher power that at a particular time, with the world in ferment, a man of my type should be chosen to sit in this chair—a man of limited talents from a small town, to help America keep in the middle of the road.

" 'Oftentimes, as I sit here, I don't seem to grasp every moment that I am President. It doesn't seem to be with me every second. I believe there is some divine guidance that keeps a man from being overwhelmed with the realization of the constant responsibility, yet able to decide for the apparent best interests of one hundred millions of people.' "

HUMANNESS OF HIS PUBLIC POLICIES

The record of his public acts well sustained the emphasis upon his essentially human qualities that received so much attention after his death. Doubtless the great Arms Conference will be known as the most outstanding event of his administration. It was a statesmanlike effort to promote world peace. And the President's rôle in this gathering was highly characteristic. Mr. Harding gave his best thought to the plans for the conference. He selected the one man in America best qualified to represent the nation; he made the opening address and retired from the center of the stage to give generous and unselfish support in the development of the great purposes of the Conference.

His advocacy of the World Court was another example of his vital, human interest in the cause of peace. While he had been among those who had rejected the League of Nations as presented by the dictatorial policies of his predecessors, he made it clear that the view of world affairs from the vantage point of the White House made a selfish policy of American isolation impossible, and in courageous opposition to the policies of many leaders of his party, he showed how America could serve the cause of peace without surrendering any of the prerogatives of sovereignty.

THE GOLDEN RULE IN JOURNALISM

The name of Roosevelt has become synonymous with the idea of "the square deal." Harding showed his devotion to this twentieth century paraphrase of the Golden Rule in his long career as a newspaper publisher. Nowhere else, perhaps, is strict adherence to this principle more difficult; certainly nowhere else are there more

appealing incentives for its infraction. Popular familiarity with the creed of a small town paper may exert an influence in American journalism that will rank among the most permanent heritages from our late President. Well might it stand as a foundation for the ethics of the profession of journalism. It is printed elsewhere in this volume, and it should be studied by every American citizen. If the newspapers of the nation could be measured by this foot-rule and their prosperity awarded according to their standing, the court of public opinion would indeed be a place of justice. Several of these rules read like corollaries to the Golden Rule:

"Remember there are two sides to every question. Get them both.

"Be truthful. Get the facts.

"There's good in everybody. Bring out the good and never needlessly hurt the feelings of anybody."

These are not rules merely for conducting a newspaper; they are standards for guidance of a life.

"THE LEGACY OF A NEWSPAPER-MAN PRESIDENT TO THE PRESS OF HIS COUNTRY"

After Mr. Harding's death, Arthur Wellman, journalist and author, gave to the press a letter which the President had written on June 15, exhorting American newspaper editors to use their power to end war. Mr. Wellman describes the letter as "the legacy of a newspaperman-President to the press of his country."

"I am informed," wrote Harding to his fellow editors, "that some of you are considering a plan to use the power of the great American newspaper press to ascertain the opinions of the people upon the problem of America's duty in world reorganization for the abolition of war.

"The reign of international law with tribunals instead of battlefields as courts of last resort, and the creation of a system of international co-operation without super-government or encroachment upon the independence of any nation, designed permanently to preserve peace, neighborly relationships, economic stability and prosperity among all the peoples of the world.

"That this plan to elicit American opinion is to be participated in by newspapers of all sections of the country, without regard to political affiliations, and that no partisan purpose of any sort is to be sought by it; that the various vital phases of the problem are to be carefully and impartially presented to readers as aid in forming their judgment, appeals to me strongly. I have long since become convinced that the United States shall not and will not enter the much-discussed League of Nations, but that conviction has not destroyed the hope that there may be found a way to world association and attending world understanding.

"With this plan to set the American people thinking more strongly and clearly and expressing their conclusions concerning the international duty of our Republic, I am in full sympathy. It is an admirable, useful work, and I hope you carry to all the readers in the land. In my opinion this is a problem which the United States must soon meet with earnestness and courage, and that it will be of great help to the Government when it proceeds toward a practical solution of the problem to have a definite formation of public opinion to build and rely upon. I further believe that in this great task of helping to make the world safe for humanity, no political party should seek selfish advantage; that this should apply to our old and most wholesome tradition that party rivalries stop at

the edge of the high seas. Hence, I shall be glad if the American press, ignoring partisanship, uses its great power to draw forth the best thought, heart and soul of our people. In such a crystallization will be read the decision of the Republic."

In making public the foregoing letter, which he described as an urgent appeal to newspapers of all parties to conduct a nation-wide non-partisan popular referendum as to America's international duty, the details of which he had discussed with the late President, Mr. Wellman asserted that had Harding lived, "his plans and purposes he would himself have revealed when ready."

"But now," continued Mr. Wellman, "it is plainly my duty to him, to the people who loved him as a man regardless of their view of his policies, to make known what he told me of his determination to do all in his power to bring about a higher type of civilization, to banish war, to lift from all peoples the burden and menace of the old but now worn out and useless militaristic regime. It is only just to Mr. Harding's fame, to his place in history, that the truth be made public."

"W. G."

It would be hard to find a scene more characteristic of Mr. Harding than the one at his own home immediately after his election. The first delegation to offer congratulations were the members of his own force on the Marion *Daily Star*. They came to the home of their President, their "boss", their friend, to rejoice with him in the great honor in which they all felt a share. As a fitting memento of the occasion, they presented him with a printer's make-up rule of gold inscribed with the date of his election. The rule also had a blank space in which

they hoped to engrave the record of his reëlection in 1924. In speaking to these intimate associates, the President's voice choked and he was unable to control his emotions. With tears running down his cheeks, he said:

"You and I have been associated together for many years. I know you and you know me. I am about to be called to a position of great responsibility. I have been on the square with you and I want to be on the square with all the world."

Calling one of the veteran members of the *Star* staff by name, he said: "There is my old friend Miller, the oldest employe of the *Star*. Thirty-six years we have been together and sometimes those years have been thorny. Sometimes Miller has drawn his pay that I had to borrow from my own mother. Sometimes, the next morning, I have had to borrow back from Miller the pay he drew the day before."

This was Warren G. Harding or, to his friends, "W. G." He rejoiced in a game of ball, thoroughly enjoyed playing in the village band, and as Senator, he dropped into a strange newspaper office when he had a few hours off, to take the place of an absent linotype man.

When he was exposed to that deadly imposition upon our public men, the interminable receptions and hand-shaking, his hand-clasp and his smile were the genuine expressions of a kindly interest in his fellow men. "The friends he had, and their adoption tried", were always his because genuine friendship begets friendship. He was no more spoiled by success than he had been discouraged by the difficulties of his early life. From first to last he was "The kindly-earnest, brave, farseeing man", a type of true Americanism, or as he said—"Just folks."

Chapter XXVI

THE VISION OF A GREAT AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE

THE FIGHT FOR SHIP SUBSIDIES—THREE POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION—THE FILIBUSTER PREVENTS A VOTE IN THE SENATE

TO put the American flag on the high seas, to establish a great American Merchant Marine, this was one of the visions of the late President. He felt that with the high pay of American seamen compared with that of the seamen of other nations, and other comparative conditions that made the operation of ships by Americans very costly, the only way to arrive at the desired object was to provide a subsidy to shipping companies.

THREE POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION

President Harding was fully persuaded that the Subsidy bill was "a sound proposition on its own merits." He saw it first as a practical matter of dollars and cents. The Government was losing in the operation of its fleet something like fifty million dollars a year, to say nothing of the loss through depreciation and through the declining market for its ships, which were salable at only a mere fraction of their original cost.

In this situation three courses of action were open, and the choice of one of them seemed inevitable to Mr. Harding.

The first was constructive—to enact the Subsidy

bill, under which he firmly believed that an American Merchant Marine, privately owned and privately operated, but serving all the people and always available to the Government in any emergency, might be established and maintained.

The second was obstructive—to continue Government operation and attending Government losses and discourage private enterprise by Government competition under which losses would be met by the public treasury—and thus "witness the continued losses and deterioration until the colossal failure ended in sheer exhaustion."

The third was destructive—involving the sacrifice of our ships abroad or by the scrapping of them at home; "the surrender of our aspirations and the confession of our impotence to the world in general and our humiliation before the competing world in particular."

AID TO INDUSTRY NOT NEW IN AMERICAN HISTORY

To those who objected to "subsidies" on general principles the President declared that he believed in "government aid becomingly bestowed."

"We have aided industry through our tariffs," he said. "We have aided railway transportation in land grants and loans. We have aided the construction of market roads and the improvement of inland waterways. We have aided reclamation and irrigation and the development of water power; we have loaned for seed grains in anticipation of harvests. We have loaned hundreds of millions to promote the marketing of American goods. It has all been commendable and highly worth while."

With this record, President Harding thought it no

departure from American policy to aid the American Merchant Marine. The plan which he sponsored consisted of both direct and indirect aid. The direct aid was in the form of payments to ships on a sliding speed-and-mileage basis which it was estimated would come to about $35,000,000 a year on a well-balanced fleet of about seven million tons. Five millions more would come from the post office for carrying the mails. The money would be raised principally by an allotment of 10 per cent of customs revenues and by the appropriation of port dues. There would be tax-exemptions for shipowners and shippers.

OPPOSITION AND THE FILIBUSTER

The bill met with strenuous opposition, especially from the Middle West region of the country, and the harder the President worked for the passage of the measure the more determined became the opposition.

On November 29, 1922, the Merchant Marine bill was passed by the House of Representatives, but it was not allowed to come to a vote in the Senate, being killed by filibuster tactics—or, in plain language, "talked to death."

President Harding had urged its enactment at a joint session of Congress held on February 28, 1922; and exactly a year later, February 28, 1923, the bill died when the Senate voted to displace that measure and make the Filled Milk bill the unfinished business.

Chapter XXVII

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

CORNER-STORE COUNCILS—A LESSON TO BE LEARNED IN YOUTH—TRAINING CITIZENS—MORE KNOWLEDGE OF OUR NATIONAL STORY

PRESIDENT HARDING'S firm appreciation of the revolutionary changes that are coming over educational thought was shown in his foreword to James M. Beck's "Lectures on the Constitution." This book is to be published by the National Security League and distributed through the public schools of the nation.

Parts of Mr. Harding's introduction to this book sound like the platform utterances of the constantly growing group of educators who are urging larger and larger emphasis on the vital concerns of our political, social, and economic life in the one institution owned and operated by the public in the interest of better citizenship. These educators, like the lamented President, see that the only excuse for making everybody pay taxes to support the schools is stated in the preamble of the Constitution. Unless the schools shall train up the mass of our citizens so that they shall be intelligent concerning the needs and problems of our democracy, devoted and self-sacrificing in their service to this democracy, and skilful in the coöperative processes by which all democracies must operate, our vaunted devotion to education is a mockery and our taxation for schools an imposition.

Mr. Harding showed in this introduction that he saw that public opinion in a democracy is, and must always be, the court of last resort. The great questions of the nation are not finally settled under the stately dome of the Capitol at Washington but in corner-store councils, soap-box auditoriums, Bible classes, forums, granges, business men's clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis, and similar clubs, and in all the gatherings of the sovereign people. The initiative for legislation, the success of executive measures, and the final adjudication of our courts will in large measure reflect that mass judgment of the American people which we call public opinion. If this judgment is to be proof alike against extremes of radicalism and of conservatism, we must have an influential group of educated leaders and a large mass of discriminating followers. To train both leaders and followers is the task which must justify the American public school.

Commending the League's plan for widespread distribution of the book, President Harding wrote, in part:

"We are accustomed to the truism that popular government depends on universal education. But it is not easy to define education and determine the relative importance of the many branches of learning which may properly be the subject of study by those who would call themselves educated.

"Let me offer this suggestion: We live under a government of and by the people. The source of power is the people. The people rule. Is not the supreme purpose of education, therefore, to train men and women to rule? Under other forms of government, it has always been thought necessary to educate the ruling class in

the science of government, that they might have knowledge and understanding of the institutions which they would be called on to administer. Here, we are all the ruling class.

"Wise and just and righteous government in a democracy must depend upon the wisdom and justice of the people. Those who study this book will learn to value the Constitution as a sacred heritage from those who ordained and established it in order to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity. They will come to know that the fabric of government which it created has proved strong enough to wield the power of a mighty people and to maintain the sacred right of the humblest citizen to life, liberty and property.

A LESSON TO BE LEARNED IN YOUTH

"To know our fundamental law, and to realize how well it has served its purpose is to reverence it and to be devoted to its preservation. The lesson should be learned in youth. It is not dull and uninteresting. The story of the Constitution, as told in this volume with simplicity and charm, will appeal to the youthful imagination with no less power than do Concord, the Delaware and Trenton. The difficulties surmounted by those who established the Constitution are no less inspiring than the struggles of those who won independence on the battle fields.

"To study the lives of these men and their work will increase our devotion to our institutions and fundamental law and will help us to share the inspiration of Lincoln when he said:

"'Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let

it be taught in schools, seminaries and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits, and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; let it become the political religion of the nation.'"

TRAINING CITIZENS

The program for the development of a better citizenship through the service of the schools includes an enormous increase in the emphasis upon such subjects as history, civics, economics, sociology, and political science. Pupils in our high schools are more and more being required to take these subjects because they are essential to intelligent citizenship. Moreover, the instruction is being shaped to meet its definite purpose of training citizens rather than to furnish the minds of a favored class with convenient and decorative information. In a letter to Dr. Kenneth C. M. Gills, President of Bowdoin College, Mr. Harding showed that his intuitive sense of public needs had kept pace with the changing concepts of the progressive educators.

The following extracts from Mr. Harding's letter are most significant:

"I remember when I was a very young man hearing a political orator, in a particularly fervid period, announce that 'the whole history of the past must be changed.' A good deal of fun was poked at this proposal, and I was among those who indulged more or less humor in connection with it. Yet, since the World War, I have sometimes wondered whether the orator was so hopelessly wrong as to justify all the hilarity. Certainly our point of view regarding modern history has been shifted greatly by the events of the last decade. To fit into our histories

the story of the years from 1914 down to this time is requiring the most painstaking, thoughtful and analytical consideration of all the course and processes of modern history.

"For that thing, it seems very clear to me that henceforth the teaching of history will have to be conducted, if it is conducted wisely, on quite different lines than have marked it in the past. There has been too much disposition among both the writers and students of history to deal with the different nations of the western world, as it were, in separate compartments; to assume that one may study and understand the history of one nation without particularly devoting himself to the relations of that particular nation to the others. Undoubtedly, we shall from this time forward have a much more adequate conception of the essential unity of the whole story of mankind; and a keener realization of the fact that all its factors must be weighed and appraised if any of them are to be accurately estimated and understood. I feel strongly that such a broader view of history, if it can be planted in the community's mind of the future through the efforts of educators and writers, will contribute greatly to uphold the hands and strengthen the efforts of those who will have to deal with the great problem of human destiny, particularly with that of preserving peace and outlawing war.

"It is everlastingly true that on the whole the best guide to the future is to be found in a proper understanding of the lessons of the past. If some of its lessons have been misunderstood, as I think we all feel nowadays some of them have been, it is peculiarly necessary in times like these that every effort be made to correct whatever misapprehensions may have arisen."

Chapter XXVIII

THE FATAL TRIP TO ALASKA

A MARTYR TO DUTY—DETERMINED TO GAIN FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF AFFAIRS IN THE TERRITORY—SPEECH-MAKING ON THE WAY—THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND AND PRESIDENT—ARRIVAL IN ALASKA—THE RETURN JOURNEY—A FRIENDLY CALL ON THE CANADIANS

IT is not too much to say that on his last Western trip which ended so tragically there was a new quality in President Harding. In days gone by he had held men by his earnestness and his plain-speaking, but never had he so thrilled his audiences as on this final trip. There was a new clarity and vigor and felicity in his speech. He put his whole soul into his talks, little dreaming or careless of the fact that he was using up his vitality; and the nation found itself voiced on higher levels. There was a new elevation of tone and spirit, a lift of vision, a fine appeal to heights and depths of the national consciousness.

THE PROPHET OF GOOD CHEER

From the moment he set his face westward he showed an elation in speech and bearing such as he had not exhibited since he took office as President of the United States. It was at first thought to be the natural exuberance of an overworked Chief Executive off for a holiday among the people; but as the journey continued and as his inspiring words began to appear in the press, it became apparent that there was a new and buoyant and spiritual

something in Mr. Harding that went out to the throngs that greeted him.

It was no longer merely the incumbent of the first office in the land that the people saw on this last trip, no mere executive speaking that the people heard. Mr. Harding had found a fresh bond of intimacy and understanding with the American people. He had left the official atmosphere of Washington far behind him. The crowds who hung upon his words had become his neighbors, and he a prophet of good cheer. He had faith in men, he told them. It was the reflex of his own nature that led him to believe that all things work together for the common good, and that, despite all obstacles, steady progress in the amelioration of human ills was being made.

He laid emphasis, too, upon the need for a revived belief in that "Divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we may."

In his fresh and fervent setting forth of the old and revered ideals of the Republic, he grew faster and farther into the hearts of the people in the few weeks of his last journey than in all the years of his official career hitherto. The very warmth and simplicity of his meetings with "the neighbors" *en route*, the gay encounter with the school children in Seattle, the fast friendships formed with the sparse populations of Alaska, bore witness to a tender quality that seemed to come to new birth in the Chief Executive.

FRIEND AND NEIGHBOR OF ALL THE PEOPLE

He dealt with the practical problems of government and business with a new breadth and largeness of vision. He did not speak as a party man, but as the friend and neighbor and counselor of all the people. Nevertheless,

he laid out the Republican platform in clear and unmistakable terms, and nailed down plank after plank to cover its generous dimensions. More than that, he reunited the party itself.

There had been something of an insurrection within his party when he broached the idea of the United States being represented officially in the World Court of International Justice. The spokesman of the opposition was the chairman of the Republican National Committee —the very heart of the party. In his speech at St. Louis, President Harding was conciliatory. The big thing in his mind was that the American people always favored peace through arbitration, rather than peace through the sword; and since the existing World Court was in line with American thought, there should be no objection to the United States taking part in its deliberations. True, it had been established by the League of Nations, but why not take the Court as it stood, and indicate by reservations the American attitude with regard to the League? President Harding did not believe that the value of the World Court would be lessened by its separation from the League. He was even willing that the Court should become self-perpetuating, electing its own members as occasion required.

CONCILIATION AND PATIENCE

This was his method of conciliation. Rightly or wrongly, he was fearful of the possible creation of a super-government, and had turned from the League; but in the World Court he saw a judicial tribunal where the opinion of the nation's jurists would have a salutary effect upon every government set up by the peoples.

From international affairs he turned to the railroad

problem, and in his speech at Kansas City, he suggested legislation to divide the rail systems into regional groups. He had always been an opponent of government ownership, and in this speech he expressed the opinion that nationalization of railroads would be disastrous. Staunchly supporting the Railroad Labor Board, he declared its authority had been flouted and should be increased.

"Patience" was his word for the farmers at Hutchinson, Kansas. They had come through troublous times, but deflation was over, and the worst of their suffering was thought to be past. Legislation already enacted, and legislation yet to be enacted promised soon to make the farmer prosperous once more.

At Denver, Colo., his subject was Prohibition, and he insisted that no modification, no weakening of the Volstead Act would be tolerated. Very plainly he told his great audience that even though all the States refused to aid in the enforcement of Prohibition, the Federal government would carry on alone. "The laws of the land can and shall be enforced," he said. Nor did the President stop with this declaration. He made a stirring appeal to the people of America to give up strong drink, even though their stocks had been lawfully acquired before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

He felt keenly the rivalry of classes in America; the resentment of the working people over the allegation that the rich could procure all the liquor they wanted, if they paid the price. Realizing that through one channel or another some supply of liquor would always be available for the wealthy, President Harding made his appeal at Denver in the hope that they would voluntarily abstain

from purchasing liquor and destroy what supplies they had.

THE BIGGEST NEEDS OF THE WORLD

At Cheyenne, Wyo., the President declared against nationalization of the country's coal mines, predicting that it would be as disastrous in this case as in the case of the railroads. Regulation, rather than nationalization, must be the remedy. The coal strike of a year ago, said he, had demonstrated completely that "there can be no coal mining in free America under the force of arms." He warmly acclaimed the work of the Federal Coal Commission and expressed the opinion that it would "bring to the country a new understanding of the problem, with a final solution a possibility." Once again he pleaded for the adoption of the "get-together" spirit. The blame for the labor quarrel in the coal industry could not be placed solely on the workmen; many mine operators were as much to blame for the unfortunate situation as the men who struck. Co-operation and work were among the biggest needs of the world to-day. In forceful phraseology Mr. Harding hammered home his message. "The world," said he, "has no use for a loafer, big or little, whether commanding capital or directing labor."

At Salt Lake City Mr. Harding spoke on taxation, and with pardonable pride referred to the Budget System, thanks to which the nation had a surplus of three hundred millions for 1923. There was also cause for congratulation in the fact that taxation had been reduced from the 1920 peak of about $53 per capita to about $26 per capita. He pointed out that, with proper economies all around, taxation could be still further cut.

"SERVICE TO MEN THE HIGHEST TRIBUTE TO GOD"

It was noted that in these last speeches the President made frequent reference to the religious background of the United States. In one of his addresses he said:

"I am thinking of the law of the golden rule, a statute from the Man of Nazareth, who brought new peace and new hope to mankind, and proclaimed service to men the highest tribute to God.

"Service is both the inspiration and the accomplishment of quite everything worth while which impels us onward and upward. With service which the Nazarene would approve are associated all our ideals and our finer aspirations. We accept the doctrine for ourselves, as we ought, because we must be firmly established and healthfully and hopefully strong ourselves before we can be effectively helpful to others.

"But I believe the law of service demands our larger helpfulness to the world. No, I do not mean entanglement in Old World politics or sponsorship for the adjustment of Old World controversies. I do mean the commitment of this nation to the promotion and preservation of international peace, to the judicial settlement of disputes which, unless settled, lead to added irritation, strained relations and ultimately to war.

"I would like the United States to give of our prestige, our influence and our power to make the International Court of Justice an outstanding and universally accepted agency of judicial determination of justiciable questions and the peaceful way to international settlements. It is too much to say that such a court will give a guaranty against war, but it will prove the longest step toward war prevention and maintained peace since the world began."

THE GET-TOGETHER SPIRIT

It was at Idaho Falls he made a somewhat radical proposal for reducing the high cost of living. This proposal was to the effect that consumers should be organized under national auspices, aided by the States and the Federal government, as the farmers now are aided, into a gigantic coöperative association, an official consumers' league. Thus they would be able to buy economically, and prices would be forced down.

Coöperation, the get-together spirit—these had been his watchword in many of his speeches. He had urged coöperation for the farmers, and now he urged coöperative purchasing for the general public.

At Helena, Montana, his theme was international peace, and he declared that in the event of another war during his term in the White House he would recommend the conscription of capital and labor.

At Spokane, Washington, his topic was conservation, but he preached development rather than conservation. To the astonishment of the country, he advocated "development of our natural resources," and objected to what he termed "ultra-conservation." "Another century," said he, "will give us a population of three hundred millions; and all our resources, including water power and reclamation by irrigation, must be brought into play to care for them. The time has come to unlock our national resources."

We must continue our restriction of immigration, he said at Portland, Oregon. Undesirable aliens must be deported. Malcontents must not be permitted to remain here plotting against the government.

Thus ran the remarks of the President on the speech-making tour that was to be his last. From town to town,

from village to village, speaking to vast audiences in auditoriums and to not less interested but smaller groups from the platform of his railroad car, the President journeyed among the people, speaking of the future of their country, attempting a fresh appraisal of their longings and possibilities, and looking forward with a sublime hope and faith in the destiny of the Republic.

Always profoundly interested in the bettering of conditions for the working man, it was a matter of supreme joy for him to announce at Tacoma, Washington, just before he sailed on the transport *Henderson* for Alaska, that the American Iron and Steel Institute had at last consented to abolish the twelve-hour day in deference to public opinion, at the earliest time practicable.

IN ALASKA AND CANADA

Leaving Washington June 20th, to travel 7500 miles in 39 days, he was in Alaska on July 8th, and returned by way of Vancouver, reaching Seattle July 27th.

At Vancouver, British Columbia, he was given a tremendous welcome. People thronged the streets, and formal messages of welcome were sent by Premier Mackenzie King and others. It was an event of the utmost significance. This was the first time that a President of the United States had visited Canada, and the people of the Dominion gave him a greeting that was spontaneous and enthusiastic. In his happy speech at Vancouver he spoke as a neighbor, without any flights of oratory, but with a sincerity and keen pleasure that captivated the Canadians.

"It is public will, not public force, that makes for enduring peace," he said. "And is it not a gratifying circumstance that it has fallen to the lot of us North

Americans, living amicably for more than a century under different flags, to present the most striking example yet produced of that basic fact? If only European countries would heed the lesson conveyed by Canada and the United States they would strike at the root of disagreements and in their own prosperity forget to inveigh constantly at ours."

"ALASKA FOR THE ALASKANS"

The last public speech delivered by President Harding was his plea at Seattle on July 27th to save Alaska from those who would exploit her resources so recklessly as to ruin them. "Against a program of reckless exploitation we must stand firm," he said; and "our adopted program must be a development of Alaska for the Alaskans."

His last public utterance was a plea for help for the Americans who live in the far northwest corner of the continent—a concrete illustration of the phrase that best characterized him: "Neighbor, I want to be helpful."

His mission was done. He had carried the message of comradeship to the people of the Territory of Alaska. Now he was on the homestretch, looking forward to days of toil when he would put his shoulder to the wheel and help to bring to fruition the things he had foreshadowed in his talks.

But rest, not toil, lay ahead of him. The spirit of the man was strong, but his strength was not equal to the strain. A day or two later the flags were at half-mast, the cities silent—the President was dead!

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THE PRESIDENTIAL HAND ON THE THROTTLE

During his trip to Alaska, President Harding more than once ascended to the locomotive cab and ran the train for considerable distances. This picture, taken near the end of his journey, plainly shows the lines of weariness in his face induced by the heavy demands upon his strength

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LADDIE BOY

Waiting for his master who will never return

Chapter XXIX

THE SPEECH THAT WAS NEVER DELIVERED

PRESIDENT HARDING'S LAST MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE—UNABLE TO DELIVER IT, HE GIVES ORDERS FOR ITS PUBLICATION—A PLEA FOR ENTRANCE INTO THE WORLD TRIBUNAL

"THESE are the times that try men's souls!" Tom Paine's famous pronouncement is as applicable to-day as it was in the fateful days preceding the American Revolution. President Harding, feeling the pressure of events in the after-war days when peace had been declared but no real peace had been established on the Continent of Europe, had no sympathy with a supergovernment, but he gave his support ungrudgingly to the Court of International Justice where issues could be adjudicated by representative jurists from the nations of the world. He could not follow Woodrow Wilson in the League of Nations but he saw in one of the agencies of that league—namely, the World Court of International Justice—a hope for the people of the planet, and a step toward international peace.

An impressive demonstration of the President's sincere devotion to the cause of international peace was furnished while he lay in what was to be his death chamber, in San Francisco. He had prepared an address on international topics and although physically unable to present it in person, he conquered bodily indisposition sufficiently to give orders for its publication.

A day or two before at Vancouver he had laid empha-

sis upon the harmonious relations which had existed between the great English-speaking neighbors of North America. He had pointed, as many others had done, to the long frontier of three thousand miles without a fort, without a blockhouse, without even a barbed-wire barrier to hinder the free intercourse of the peoples of Canada and the United States.

Speaking of this remarkable demonstration of international brotherhood, he said, "Our protection is in our fraternity, our armor is our faith; the tie that binds more firmly year by year is ever-increasing acquaintance and comradeship through interchange of citizens; and the compact is not of perishable parchment but of fair and honorable dealing which, God grant, shall continue for all time."

Quoting from the late Ambassador Bryce, he added, "Peace can always be kept, whatever be the grounds of controversy, between peoples that wish to keep it."

THE LAST MESSAGE OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE

In his last speech, prepared for a San Francisco audience but never delivered, he asserted:

"Nations ought no more need resort to force in the settlement of their disputes or differences than do men in this enlightened day.

"Out of this conviction, out of my belief in a penitent world craving for the agencies of peace, out of the inevitable presidential contact with the World War havoc and devastation and the measureless sorrow which attended and has followed, I would be insensible to duty and violate all the sentiment of my heart and all my convictions if I failed to urge American support of the permanent Court of International Justice.

"I do not know that such a court will be unfailing in the avoidance of war, but I know it is a step in the right direction, and will prove an advance toward international peace for which the conflictive conscience of mankind is calling."

Evidently having in mind published statements by members of the Senate and others criticising his St. Louis address in which he had proposed a reconstruction of the creative machinery of the court, the President said:

"My own sincerity of purpose has been questioned because I do not insist that we shall accept the existing world court precisely as provided. Personally, I would vastly prefer the policy of submitting all controversies in which we are concerned to the court as it sits to-day, as against any other agency of settlement yet devised.

"As President, speaking for the United States, I am more interested in adherence to such a tribunal in the best form attainable than I am concerned about the triumph of Presidential insistence. The big thing is the firm establishment of the court and our cordial adherence thereto. All else is mere detail."

FOUR MAIN TASKS

Prefacing his review of international achievements with the declaration that "when the present national Administration came into responsibility, world affairs were in a complicated and very difficult posture," the President said four main tasks were undertaken as follows:

"First, the reëstablishment of peace with the Central Powers, and the orderly settlement of those important after problems of the war, which directly involved the United States.

"Second, the protection and promotion, amid the chaos of conflicting national interests, of the just rights of the United States and the legitimate interests of American citizens.

"Third, the creation of an international situation, so far as the United States might contribute thereto, which would give the best assurance of peace for the future; and,

"Fourth, the pursuit of the traditional American policy of friendly coöperation with our sister republics of the Western Hemisphere."

This was the last message of President Harding to the people. It was a carefully considered and carefully prepared document, and was to have been delivered in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco on July 31st. It was given to the press on the same day by his secretary, George B. Christian, by orders of the President, who, although stricken with an illness that was to result fatally, felt that the address should be released, "for the information and consideration of the people."

Chapter XXX

THE PRESIDENT'S LAST MOMENTS

REJOICING IN SAN FRANCISCO TURNS TO SYMPATHY—THE BRIEF ILLNESS—HOPEFUL REPORTS—THE CHILDREN'S GIFTS—THE SUDDEN STROKE—HIS LAST ACTS—SUNSET

ON his homeward journey, after visiting Alaska, President Harding spoke to the people of Seattle. That was the last public address he was fated to deliver. It was during this speech that he was attacked with a dilation of the heart. Members of the Presidential party tried to persuade him to abandon the rest of his engagements, but Mr. Harding said he thought he would recover his strength on the trip from Seattle to San Francisco.

The great city at the Golden Gate had prepared to give him enthusiastic welcome, not merely as the Chief Executive of the Nation, but as a man whose kindliness and humanness had made an irresistible appeal to the warm-hearted Westerners.

REJOICING TURNS TO SYMPATHY

The President reached San Francisco, but word had come of his sudden illness, and rejoicing turned to sympathy and solicitation for his welfare. President Harding had complained of indigestion; this was succeeded by symptoms of bronchial pneumonia. On the trip from Seattle his vitality became steadily lower, and when the party arrived at San Francisco, on Sunday, July 29,

the President was in such a state that it was decided to cancel all further speech-making engagements.

In his suite of rooms on the top floor of the Palace Hotel the physicians began their battle for the life of the man in whose honor the flags were flying all over the city.

The news was grave for a day or two, then came reassuring bulletins. Medical skill had apparently been successful; the disease had apparently been conquered. Messages of good will and sympathy poured in from every quarter; there were offers of country homes, where the President might recuperate; flowers, and still more flowers came with their messages of cheer to the stricken President and his faithful wife who herself had come through a severe illness, and who now watched day and night by the bedside of her husband.

HOPEFUL REPORTS

With the reassuring bulletins from the sick room the hopes of the people began to rise. At 9.30 on the morning of Thursday, August 2, it was reported that "the President had several hours of restful sleep during the night and except for marked exhaustion by an acute illness, expressed himself as feeling easier this morning."

To this cheering report was a still more encouraging note, signed by General Sawyer and his associate physicians:

"The lung condition shows definite improvement.

"Small quantities of food are being taken, and elimination remains satisfactory.

"While recovery will inevitably take some little time, we are more confident than heretofore as to the outcome of his illness."

At three o'clock on the afternoon of the same day

General Sawyer, satisfied with the day's progress, went out for an automobile ride. Altogether that day was notable for the decrease in anxiety, tension, and strain of the previous days. The President's sister, Mrs. E. E. Remsberg, with her two daughters, called and spent several minutes talking with the President. Attorney-General Daugherty also called, but did not see Mr. Harding, saying that he preferred not to talk to him until there was absolutely no danger of any resultant ill effects.

THE CHILDREN'S GIFTS

Two little girls came to the Presidential suite just before seven o'clock with flowers, seeking to present them to the President. Mrs. Harding, who shared the President's lifelong love of children, graciously came from the sick room to speak a word to the two small girls, and accepted their gift. Returning to the room, she smilingly entered with a few of the blooms. Then she began to read aloud.

Called the bravest of all the Presidential party, Mrs. Harding had not left the hotel since she had entered it the Sunday previous. It was an appraisement of the man in the White House which she was reading, from one of the magazines. Two nurses also were in the room.

THE SUDDEN STROKE

"That's good. Go on, read some more," said the President. They were his last words, spoken at 7.30 on that Thursday night, August 2, 1923. Instantly, without warning, a slight shudder passed through his frame, and he collapsed. Mrs. Harding bent over him; spoke to him. But he failed to respond. Excited, but not in

a panic, she ran to the door and called for the doctors. The physicians hurried in. They found the President beyond saving. He was unconscious and almost into the shadowland. Before it was time to think of oxygen or any other restorative, the pulse subsided, the heart ceased beating. It was the end.

The death of the nation's Chief Magistrate was announced in these words:

"The President died instantaneously and without warning and while conversing with members of his family at 7.30 P. M. Death was apparently due to some brain evolvement, probably an apoplexy.

"During the day he had been free from discomfort and there was every justification for anticipating a prompt recovery.

"C. E. SAWYER, M.D.
"RAY LYMAN WILBUR, M.D.
"C. M. COOPER, M.D.
"J. T. BOONE, M.D.
"HUBERT WORK, M.D.

"August 2, 1923, 7.35 P. M."

In a second official statement issued at 8.02 P. M. death was ascribed to apoplexy.

HIS LAST ACTS

On board the U. S. S. *Henderson*, President Harding wrote a speech which he was scheduled to deliver in San Francisco on Tuesday night. Its main topic was the World Court. Given to the press by his own orders for publication Tuesday morning, it was recalled afterward that the last official message of President Warren G. Harding was one of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men."

Only an hour or two before his death President

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MOURNING THOUSANDS WAITING FOR A LAST VIEW

Part of the huge throng of rich and poor alike who stood for hours in the broiling sun waiting their turn to pass before the remains of their beloved President lying in state in the rotunda of the Capitol

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LYING IN STATE IN THE CAPITOL

Here in the spacious rotunda, beneath the great white dome, a nation did honor to his memory as man and President.

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HOME FOR THE LAST REST AT MARION, OHIO

On August 10, 1923. the body of President Harding was laid to rest with the simplest of ceremonies, while all the nation stopped to mourn

Harding was carrying on, though not in person, one of the activities to which he had looked forward as one of the most pleasant duties of his abandoned trip. This was the presentation of the traveling beauseant of the Knights Templar to the Hollywood, California, Commandery.

In this action the President, as the representative of his own commandery, Marion, was to have delivered the emblem to the California body of his fellow knights as one step of its journey around the world, passing from commandery to commandery across continents and oceans. But his illness had intervened, and, rather than that the presentation should not be made at the appointed time, he sent his secretary, George B. Christian, Jr., also a Knight Templar, to perform this last duty. Mr. Christian was on his way back from Los Angeles at the time the President died and did not learn the sad news until urgent telegrams caught his train as it approached Central California on the north.

SUNSET

"Sunset and evening star, and one clear call for me" —such was the passing of Warren G. Harding, Twenty-ninth President of the United States. The shock to the nation was profound. The cities became silent as the news spread. The flaunting banners were lowered to the half-staff; sombre black replaced the gay bunting. The President was dead. The kindly man from Marion lay in his last sleep. In the full noon of his life he had suddenly come to the sunset. The sun's rim dipped; in one stride came the dark.

Chapter XXXI

LYING IN STATE AT THE CAPITOL

ALL THE WORLD PAYS TRIBUTE—THE NATION'S SORROW FOR THE MAN BORN IN OBSCURITY WHO ROSE TO WORLD FAME—HOME AT LAST

IN the passing of President Harding there was a dramatic note that hushed into silence the clamor of the everyday world; and when San Francisco had said its last sad good-byes to all that was mortal of the greatly loved President, there began a funeral pilgrimage from sea to sea that has never been equaled in sustained solemnity in this or any other country.

The martyred McKinley, Garfield, and Lincoln were convoyed or met on the way to their last resting places by thousands silenced and sorrowing, but the funeral journeys were relatively brief.

THE LANE OF SORROW

There have been notable processionals in the Old World, accompanied by all the pomp and panoply of state; but there was nothing perfunctory, nothing official, nothing coldly planned in the spontaneous reaction of the people of this land along the whole three thousand miles.

They gathered from factory and farm, from unpainted hut and mansion. The farmer boy paused at his work in the hayfield to doff his hat to the funeral train bearing the body of a President who had begun life on the farm. At the crossroads were merchants and laborers. Housekeeper and maid stood on the porch together. One touch

of nature had made the whole world kin. The windows and roofs of the factories were filled with men and women, employers and employed, reverently hushed. The veterans of old wars and new stood side by side in salutation of the Commander-in-chief for whom the flags were everywhere half-masted.

In the populous centers the throngs were dense, in all-night vigil, as well as by the light of day. Minute after minute was lost by the train, as its speed was slackened temporarily that groups of sorrowing Americans, hundreds and frequently thousands, might pay their last brief tribute to the Chief Executive who had passed on.

THE SCENES AT THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Shortly before midnight on Tuesday, August 7th, the train bearing the body of President Harding reached Washington from San Francisco. Less than six weeks before, he had left the nation's capital, smiling, happy, glad to be relieved of the cares of state for a space. On that midsummer night in August he returned, relieved forever of earthly burdens.

While countless thousands stood bareheaded and silent on that hot night—a long, reverent vigil, for the train was many hours late—the body of the greatly loved President was brought back to the White House he had grown to love as his official home, to rest for a few brief hours while the nation paid homage to his memory.

The strain on Mrs. Harding had been terrific, but she bore up bravely. On her arrival at Union Station she passed out to the street through the Presidential suite, accompanied by George Christian, Junior, secretary

to the President, and General Sawyer. An automobile was waiting, in which Mrs. Harding was driven direct to the White House, passing the mute, double line of waiting people along Pennsylvania Avenue. She arrived there shortly before eleven o'clock, driven up the avenue in one of the three automobiles that preceded the slow-moving procession by several minutes.

The former mistress of the Executive Mansion walked up the steps on the arm of Mr. Christian, although her steady step made it apparent to observers that she was far from collapse. Behind her came Brigadier-General and Mrs. Sawyer.

FROM THE STATION TO THE WHITE HOUSE

Upon arrival of the body of President Harding at the east exit from the station into the driveway the United States Marine Band played "Nearer, My God, to Thee," with the infantry brought to "present arms," and the three troops of cavalry outside extending out into the plaza brought to "carry sabers." Pallbearers then placed the coffin upon the caisson, and at a signal from Colonel C. S. Babcock, the army officer in charge, it was started with the escort.

Tenderly the caisson was drawn through the lane of silent thousands to the great mansion that had been Mr. Harding's home. Tenderly the guard of honor—marines, seamen, and soldiers—lifted the casket from the caisson under the portico of the White House and carried it for a night of rest into the East Room.

Waiting for the coffin was the mahogany catafalque in the exact center of the East Room and all that is now left of the dead President was placed in the spot once occupied by the body of McKinley.

Ladies of the Cabinet originally had planned to visit the White House in a body, there to await the coming of its former mistress. Word reached Washington early in the evening, however, that it was Mrs. Harding's wish that she be alone after reaching the Executive Mansion. There she passed the night with her dead, in a place she loved, where she too had gone far into the shadows not so very long ago.

THE PROCESSION TO THE CAPITOL

On Wednesday, August 8th, a sad, silent nation paid homage to the memory of Warren G. Harding when his body was borne from the White House to the Capitol while thousands stood in reverent silence along the streets of Washington.

It was a few minutes past ten o'clock when the great procession of sorrow swung out from the White House gates to begin its passage up the historic avenue where so many other long caravans of grief had passed.

With General Pershing riding ahead, the marching thousands of the escort led the way, their bayonets glittering above them. Soldiers, sailors, marines, and citizen soldiers, all were there. Behind them came the new President, bowed in grief that his high office came at such a price. Came also two former Presidents, one of whom had been stricken, as had Mr. Harding, in the service of his country, and who had disobeyed his physician's orders in order to pay the last honor to the memory of the man who had succeeded him as President.

Behind these, in endless array, marched the great body of American citizenry and the men who keep the wheels of a great government moving in the huge silent buildings about.

Military bands interspersed in the columns, played old, old hymns that stir and comfort. The hush and dim mystery of the previous night, when the flag-draped casket came to its brief space of quiet in the White House, was lacking. But there was no sound or movement in the great crowds that lined the way until that fateful burden under its colorful, glorious bunting had been carried by on silent wheels to be lifted to the catafalque in the great stone chamber of the Capitol rotunda.

In the spacious rotunda of the Capitol, beneath the great white dome, a nation did honor to the memory of Warren Gamaliel Harding, as man and President. Other nations added their tributes to the head of the American Republic. The services were as simple as he would have liked them. They were patterned after those for his beloved William McKinley, whom he sought to emulate. Yet in the very simplicity of brief prayer and old familiar hymns, they were more majestic, truly nearer the heart of the man who lay silent.

A NATION PAYS TRIBUTE

The minister raised his hands, his eyes fixed dimly upon the flag-draped casket, and pronounced the benediction of the nation. Then the sound of a requiem gun broke the silence. Sobs, muffled moans and half-stifled sighs were heard as the doors were softly opened to admit the tens of thousands of mourners who paid their last tribute to their loved leader.

For five hours people of all races, of every religion and of all ranks filed past in an apparently endless stream, their faces shadowed with sorrow.

At 6 o'clock the casket was carried down the steps of the Capitol while the guns at Fort Myer, across the

river, boomed a salute. Mourners with bared heads lined the route as the casket was taken to the train that was to bear it to Marion, Ohio, the last resting place of the dead President.

President Coolidge and the Cabinet members stood within the doors as the coffin was taken from the caisson out through the gates of the iron grill separating the concourse from the train platform. The coffin was taken to the car "Superb" and passed through the window to the place it occupied during the transcontinental journey.

With the arrival of the inconsolable widow of the dead President, the long train slid quietly along the tracks. In a minute the red lights on the rear of the last car faded into the night.

HOME AT LAST

On August 9th Warren G. Harding was back with the "home folks," the people he had loved; back in the small town of Marion to which he had brought such high distinction. The great Republic, in solemn but splendid ceremonial, had shown its high regard for the late President on the day before at the Nation's capital; now he was given back to the town where his dearest memories were centered.

With him had come the sorrowing widow, the Cabinet officers and other Washington officials, and members of the group that accompanied the late President to Alaska, and who had been requested by Mrs. Harding to "come to Marion." Later the new President, Calvin Coolidge, and his party joined the mourners in the last sad rites.

Borne through Center Street, where the people stood, bare-headed and dim-eyed, the coffin containing all that

was mortal of their fellow townsman and late President of the United States was carried into a modest home—not the home of the famous "front porch," for that was leased, but to the home of his father, Dr. George Harding.

Warren Harding belonged to the people now, and the people filed in to take their last look at him. It was a long line, stretching for several blocks. In single file and amid perfect order the line moved over a covered concrete walk to a side porch. Through a door which opened into a room bare of furniture the solemn-faced throng moved slowly, and passed the bier of Marion's great son.

Entering the side door and passing out on the front porch the crowd flowed in a steady stream hour after hour until midnight. There was no confusion, no conversation, just the silent passing of a grief-stricken community, of old friends and neighbors.

The home-town folks who had watched him grow from small things to great, they were all there—all except Mr. Harding's "boys" of the Marion *Star*, the men who had worked with him in his newspaper office; these were privileged to come on the morrow for their own silent tribute, when the general public was excluded.

A DAY OF MOURNING AND PRAYER

Friday, August 10, 1923, was a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States. On that day Warren G. Harding was laid to rest in the Marion cemetery.

The throbbing cities were silent. The wheels of industry ceased to turn. The people abandoned work and pleasure; their thoughts were centered on the town in Ohio where simple funeral exercises were being held.

Simplicity had been a characteristic of the man for whom the millions mourned, and simplicity in the extreme marked the last scenes in Marion when his body was carried from the home of his father to the receiving vault, to await construction of its permanent resting place.

The services at the cemetery were in charge of the Rev. George L. Landis, pastor of Trinity Baptist Church, where Mr. Harding worshiped, and Dr. Jesse Swank, pastor of Epworth Methodist Episcopal Church, of which Mrs. Harding is a member.

A hymn, a prayer, a few comforting words from the Book of Books, a benediction, the tolling of a bell, and—"earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust." Warren G. Harding had become a memory.

The kindly smile, the hearty hand-clasp, the handsome frame of the man who "looked like a President" and who sacrificed all in the faithful discharge of that office—these had vanished. But the passion for America which kindled his words, the nobility of character which made folks proud to be called his friend, the spirit of industry and perseverance that carried him from a printer's case to the White House—these will live, to give courage and inspiration, so long as the Republic shall last.

Chapter XXXII

THE THIRTIETH PRESIDENT

CAREER OF CALVIN COOLIDGE—THE TYPICAL NEW ENGLANDER—GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS—THE ADVOCATE OF LAW AND ORDER—THE STRENGTH OF THE MAN IN THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE—VICE-PRESIDENT AND CABINET CONSULTANT—THE NEW PRESIDENT SWORN IN—CARRYING OUT THE POLICIES OF WARREN G. HARDING

ON vacation, in a little town in Vermont, hidden in the mountains of New England, Calvin Coolidge was called from his bed on the night of August 2, 1923, or rather in the early morning of August 3, to take the oath as President of the nation.

One farm boy stepped out of office, and another farm boy succeeded him. Calvin Coolidge, the thirtieth President of the United States and the sixth Vice-President to succeed to the higher office through the death of a President, is a genuine son of the soil. The Coolidges have been in New England nearly three hundred years, a fact that goes down to the bed-rock of American life. They were among the first settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, arriving there in 1630. Later, they removed to the hilly country west of the Connecticut River, where successive generations helped to conquer a wilderness, place its broad acres under fertile cultivation, and eventually create that sturdy American commonwealth, the State of Vermont.

Calvin Coolidge was born July 4, 1872, at Plymouth

Notch, a little village in the southern part of the Green Mountains, nearly two thousand feet above sea-level, and twelve miles from the nearest railroad. His parents were John C. Coolidge and Victoria J. Moor Coolidge, both of purest New England ancestry. His mother died when he was in his thirteenth year, but a devoted stepmother cherished him as her own son. The father, John C. Coolidge, combined the direction of the family farm with the keeping of a general store and his activities as an insurance agent. Widely known as a man of sterling character, business sagacity, and deep religious convictions, he is held in high esteem throughout Vermont. He served six years in the lower branch of the Legislature and two years in the State Senate.

As a boy, Calvin Coolidge lived the familiar life of a farmer's son among the New England hills, attending the local schools and sharing in the daily routine of duties on the farm and in his father's store. One of his early teachers who lived for a time in the Coolidge home gives us a glimpse of him as a school boy. She records that he was a real student, "one without trimmings," and that his methodical habits developed at an early age. "He never was more than a minute or two early in getting to school, and he was never late. When school was over he made a bee line for home to attend to his chores which he never delayed or slighted."

AT AMHERST COLLEGE

Having prepared for college at Black River and St. Johnsbury academies, he entered Amherst College in the fall of 1891. His shy and retiring disposition, together with the fact that he was working his way through college, led to his participating but little in

undergraduate social life and athletic activities. Young Coolidge was known as a quiet, hard-working student, good in debate and especially strong in his knowledge of American history. But the quality that particularly marked him out was a Lincolnesque sense of humor. He could make an extremely humorous speech and evoke roars of laughter with some whimsical saying or quaint expression.

In his senior year he won a gold medal offered by the Sons of the American Revolution for the best essay on "The Principles of the American Revolution." On Class Day he won the coveted honor of delivering the Grove Oration, and he was graduated with honors in the Class of 1895. He is the twenty-third President who has begun life with the prized advantage of a college education.

HIS START ON A POLITICAL CAREER

Following graduation he began the study of law in the office of Hammond & Field in Northampton, Massachusetts, the beautiful New England city which has since been his home. Twenty months later, at the early age of twenty-three, he was admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession in 1897.

Almost simultaneously with entrance upon his life-work his practical connection with politics began through his election as an alternate to a convention for the nomination of a state senator. From this small beginning he advanced step by step during the next ten years, revealing that inborn capacity to rise to all occasions which is one of his most marked characteristics.

The record of these years shows an ever increased trust reposed in him by his fellow-citizens and a never

failing ability on his part to meet the highest requirements as their elected representative. His political progress is seen in the offices he successively held: member of the City Council, 1899; City Solicitor, 1900–1901; Clerk of Courts, 1904; member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1907–1908; Mayor of Northampton, 1910–1911; member of the Massachusetts State Senate, 1912–1915 and its President, 1914–1915; Lieutenant Governor, 1916, 1917, 1918; and Governor, 1919, 1920.

THE SHORTEST SPEECH IN HISTORY

Serious though he is in general, his sense of humor frequently asserts itself publicly to the delight of all who witness it in play. Once, in the course of a legislative debate, a certain member noted for his long-winded speeches addressed the House for an hour in support of a measure, during which he used a series of affirmations always beginning with "It is——." When Coolidge rose to speak on the question he said: "Mr. Speaker, it isn't," and sat down.

THE BOSTON POLICE STRIKE

The crisis of Mr. Coolidge's career came during his first term as Governor. The Police Commissioner of Boston had promulgated a rule forbidding any union of the city police force from affiliating with an outside labor union. The Boston Police Union defied the Commissioner and secured a charter from the American Federation of Labor. After nineteen ringleaders in the movement had been brought up on charges before the Commissioner and had been found guilty, but with penalties suspended to afford them an opportunity to reverse

their action, three-fourths of the police force went on strike on the evening of September 9, 1919.

The night that followed was one of the most hideous the city had ever experienced. Lawlessness, hoodlumism, robbery, assault, and every other form of crime ran riot. There was little or no restraint. The loyal members of the police force were too few in numbers to restore even a semblance of order. The aid of the state authorities was imperatively called for.

The campaign for the governorship was in full swing and Governor Coolidge had been warned that opposition to the policemen's union would bring about his defeat for reëlection. The Democratic candidate for Governor had pledged himself to reinstate all the striking policemen. The issue was clearly joined; it was law and order against unbridled lawlessness and intimidation. Governor Coolidge never hesitated a moment. He immediately called out all the State troops and rushed them to Boston, and requested the United States Army and Navy departments to send him reinforcements if they should be needed.

To Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, he telegraphed the memorable words: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." The troops quelled the disorder and rioting within twenty-four hours, and the strike soon petered out.

The Governor's inflexible determination to do his duty in the grave emergency confronting him, and the courage and promptness with which he acted, had saved the day and vindicated the principles of law and order. He became a national figure over night.

President Wilson sent a message of warm praise,

and congratulations poured in from every part of the country. "He met his great opportunity with so masterful a spirit as to send a thrill of admiration through every community in the land, and every honest man felt safer because there was such a governor as Coolidge." In the following November he was reëlected governor by upwards of 125,000 votes, an overwhelming testimony of the people's gratitude for courage in high office.

NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

At the Republican National Convention in June, 1920, the Massachusetts delegation made him their nominee for President and voted for him solidly throughout the ten ballots taken. On the first ballot for Vice-President, Governor Coolidge received 674½ votes to 146½ cast for Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin. The other candidates then withdrew their names and Mr. Coolidge received the nomination by a unanimous vote. It was generally recognized that his nomination to the Vice-Presidency conferred on that candidacy a distinction rarely associated with it in the popular mind.

After the November election, Mr. Harding formally invited the Vice-President elect to become an ex-officio member of the Cabinet. Mr. Coolidge at first doubted the advisability of accepting on account of the serious departure from precedent such action involved, and also because he feared it might arouse animosities that the President elect ought to avoid. Mr. Harding insisted, however, and Mr. Coolidge accepted the gracious and, as events proved, almost prophetically inspired invitation of his chief.

As Vice-President, he found ample scope for his energy and industry. Faithful to habits acquired while

holding humble offices, he was at his desk early and late while Congress was in session. Seldom or never was he absent from his place as Presiding Officer of the Senate, except on Tuesdays and Fridays when he sat with the Cabinet. Constantly in demand as a speaker on public occasions, he made during his incumbency of the Vice-Presidency a score of notable addresses in various parts of the country.

A MIDNIGHT DRAMA IN A NEW ENGLAND FARM HOUSE

When the tragic news of President Harding's death reached him at midnight, August 2, 1923, Mr. Coolidge was at his father's home in Plymouth, Vermont, where he had been spending a quiet vacation. From the Attorney-General in Washington word came that the President should take his oath of office as soon as possible, and that any person duly authorized by law to administer oaths could perform this service. The President's father being a notary public, it was at once decided that he should administer the oath of office to his son. Never since the foundation of the Republic had such a situation arisen, and it will always remain one of the most dramatic events in American history.

The ceremony took place in a typical New England parlor or sitting room in the Coolidge farm house. The faint light of an old-fashioned kerosene lamp, with fluted top chimney and etched sides, was sufficient to throw the faces of the President and father into bold relief. The President's father, sturdy and active despite his seventy-eight years, stood at the south side of a small center table that held the lamp, the family Bible, and a number of other books. The President stood at the other side of the table, facing his father. The President's

face was pale. His bearing was marked by the simple dignity and poise which characterized him all through the difficult period of President Harding's illness. The elder Coolidge, who bears a marked resemblance to his son and has the same immobility of features, asked the President to raise his right hand. The President did so, and his father read him the following oath, prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, the form of which had been received by telegraph and telephone only a few minutes before from Washington:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and I will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The President repeated the oath after his father. There was a tense moment as he paused, with hand still uplifted, and added in a voice deep with feeling: "So help me God." As the President was sworn in, the hands of the clock pointed to 2.43 A. M., standard time.

That scene in the Coolidge farm-house at Plymouth Notch in the small hours of the morning, had more than a passing significance. By the light of a kerosene lamp in the sitting room of a Vermont farm-house, across the street from the house in which he was born, the thirtieth President of the United States took his oath of office. A worker in a nation of workers, he stepped into the next job ahead. There surely could not be a better soil from which to take a representative American, fitted to do justice by every sort of American worth his salt.

TRAITS OF CHARACTER OF THE THIRTIETH PRESIDENT

The personality of President Coolidge is as yet little known to the majority of his fellow-countrymen. His

rise to the Vice-Presidency was achieved solely on the merits of his public service. Of a retiring nature, he has always preferred the sheltered restfulness of his modest home to the activities of general society. His study has been more attractive to him than social clubs, his books more alluring than motor cars. Only a small circle of intimate friends know the warm human side of the man, his delight in intellectual conversation, and the inimitable smile that lights his face on hearing a good political story.

Simplicity and modesty are cardinal elements in his make up. One of his well-known sayings is, "Let men in public office substitute the midnight oil for the limelight." When the police strike brought journalists from all over the country to interview him, one of the ablest of them reported: "As for being spoiled by publicity, there was about as much chance of spoiling Plymouth Rock." When elected Governor he refused to abandon his modest residence in half of a double frame house in Northampton. Instead, he took a dollar-a-day room in a Boston hotel and returned to his home for week ends.

CALVIN COOLIDGE AS A WRITER

As a writer, President Coolidge has a clear, direct style and a gift for terse, epigrammatic expression. The speeches and messages published under the title, "Have Faith in Massachusetts," show the vigor and beauty of his language as well as his grasp of history and political economy. Nearly every page contains a striking line or passage.

"Self-government means self-support."

"Men do not make laws. They do but discover them."

"Industry cannot flourish if labor languish."

"Destiny is in you."

"We must eternally smite the rock of public conscience if the waters of patriotism are to pour forth."

The following passage from his Lincoln Day Proclamation of 1919 illustrates the beauty of his style when the subject calls it forth: "No star, no sign foretold his coming. About his cradle all was poor and mean save only the source of all great men, the love of a wonderful woman. When she faded away in his tender years, from her death bed in humble poverty she dowered her son with greatness. There can be no proper observance of a birthday which forgets the mother."

MRS. COOLIDGE—A HOME MAKER

These words came with feeling and conviction from a man whose own life had been enriched by the love of good women. To his mother and stepmother he owed much for their careful rearing of him in boyhood. In October, 1905, he married Miss Grace A. Goodhue, of Burlington, Vt., whom he had met while she was a teacher in Northampton, Mass., at the Clark School for the Deaf and Dumb. To Mrs. Coolidge, home making is the perfect career. A graduate of the University of Vermont, she has always been keenly interested in education. "Education," she has said, "means a working knowledge of the essentials needed in life's contest. I believe in education for everyone, but not necessarily higher education for all." To her two sons, John, aged seventeen, and Calvin, Jr., fifteen, and to her husband, Mrs. Coolidge devotes herself unremittingly, surrounding them with a home life perfect in its simplicity, wholesomeness, and harmony. Both the President and Mrs.

Coolidge are members of the Congregational Church and faithful attendants at its services.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF PRESIDENT HARDING

Thus ancestry, environment, education and wide administrative experience all have contributed to qualify Calvin Coolidge for the great office to which he has been called. His intellectual qualifications are equally positive and assured. In every respect his past justifies high faith in the future. A summary of his character made when Mr. Coolidge was being discussed as a presidential possibility in the spring of 1920 gives sound reasons for this faith:

"He does not scold. He does not flatter. He does not use an extravagant word. He never shows discouragement. He never loses faith. Listeners feel the strength of his grasp of human realities, of his trust in the supreme power of the right, of his assurance in its ultimate victory. They recognize that here is a man to be trusted; that he is worthy of responsibility; that he has strength to bear public burdens; that he will be true to the public welfare; that he will not neglect his public duties; and that he will focus all his powers for the effective discharge of his public trust."

He was a great admirer of President Harding; spoke of him as "my friend and chief," and on taking office as Chief Executive of the Nation promptly declared his intention of carrying out the policies of Warren G. Harding.

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